

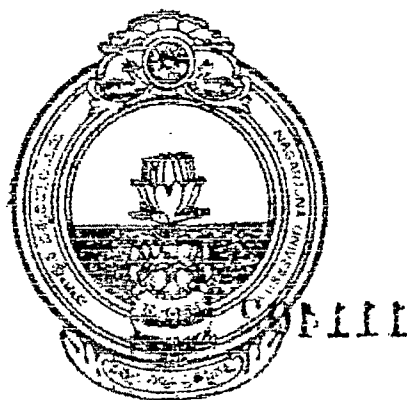
PALANATI VIRA CHARITRA

(A heroic ballad sung by Malas the Dalits of Palanadu)

A Socio-Cultural Study

*Thesis Submitted to Nagarjuna University in partial fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



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DECLARATION

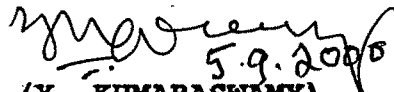
The work incorporated in this thesis has been carried out in the Department of History and Archaeology, Nagarjuna University, Nagarjunanagar. The work embodied in this thesis is original and I declare that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any Degree or Diploma of any other University.



(P. RANJAN BABU)

CERTIFICATE

CERTIFIED that the work incorporated in this thesis is bonafide and is carried out by Mr. P. RANJAN BABU, under my supervision.


(Y. KUMARASWAMY)

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.T.I.	: Corpus of Telingana
E.A.	: Epigraphia Andhrica, Hyderabad
E.I.	: Epigraphia Indica
I.A.P.	: Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad
J.A.H.R.S.	: Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry
P.V.C.; S.M. & K.	: Palnati Vira Charitra by Srinathudu, Mallayya and Kondaiah
S.I.I.	: South Indian Inscriptions

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-- P. RANJAN BABU

INTRODUCTION

The present study deals with an enquiry into various Historical, Economical, Religious and Cultural happenings in Andhra, in general and Palnāḍu in particular which gave birth to a distinct phenomenon that paved the way for the formation of a new and unique society. By virtue of a peculiar and unique development that took place in Palnāḍu ultimately gave raise to the birth of a new class and a struggle and fight on the traditional society hither to working unopposed and the present topic is an untrodden one and as such deserves an enquiry over this field. History and culture of Palnāḍu have been dealt by historians and literary critics from their own point of view. But, no attempt has been made towards the enquiry into the sociological factors contributing to the formation of a society promoting superstitious belief, the traditional ways of Brāhmanical varna order. The sociological point of view of enquiry is initiated in the present work, taking into account almost all the sources available so far.

Earlier work done:

The earlier work done in this field was not confined to the sociological study of Palnāḍu. Many literary wizards

have concentrated mostly on the literary side and the literary contribution of Reddys of Konḍaveeḍu and particularly of Srinātha, their court-poet who has written "The Palanāṭi Vira Charitra". But, no historical studies have been seriously undertaken by anybody. Therefore, the present study would highlight the very crux of the social problems of Palnāḍu, the land of the early Pallavas which was stony and rocky.

The environment of Palnāḍu is entirely different from that of any other region in Andhra. The topographical description of the land would give a different and definite account of metamorphic stones and rocks of the area. Even today the rocky formation of Palnāḍu is such a eruptive that it looks as if all the stones were facing towards Kārempūḍi, as if to confront with Nāgamma, the arch enemy of Brahmanāyūḍu, a true Vaishnavite of Mācherla. The opponent of Nāgamma fought for the rights of the oppressed and the depressed, the people of the period under study.

The Brahmanical hegemony which ruled over Palnāḍu, suppressed the Dalits and therefore, the Vaishnavism gave room to the upliftment of the oppressed and depressed. Kannamadās, a powerful and well-built hero of the Dalit side, worked as Nalagāma's Commander-in-Chief of the rulers

of Mācherla, who lost their kingdom to Nāgamma in cock fighting held at Kārempūdi which is situated on the bank of the river Chandravanka.

The movement that was inspired by the rulers of Mācherla under the banner of Vaishnavism, in fact nourished the age-long suppressive attitude of the untouchables. Under the same umbrella of Nalagāma, the Vaishnavite ruler of Mācherla under the able guidance of Kannamadās, the leader of the Dalits, united together formed a front to fight for the formation of Social Reform in Palnāḍu.

The history of Palnāḍu can be written in golden letters for it brought for the first time, the most important and neglected watchword of society namely, 'Equality'. The discriminative policy of oppressive and suppressive attitude of the caste Hindus was now checked suddenly by the uproar of the Dalit aspirants under the guidance of Vaishnavism which allowed inter-caste marriages and dinings paved the way for the possibility of a casteless society in Palnāḍu. This is indeed, a great miracle brought about by the followers of Vaishnavism of Palnāḍu. This type of movement was probably accentuated and perhaps influenced by the one that originated in Karnāṭaka by Chennabasava (a great social reformer) who admitted all lower caste people into his hold.

m/ Taking perhaps the lessons and popularity of the Basava movement at Karnāṭaka, the Vaishnava rulers of Palnāḍu namely Nalagāma followed and supported Kannamadās, launched a staunch campaign against the strong hold of the traditional varna order.

Chāpakūḍu or all people sitting around a mat on which food is served was initiated to mitigate the social fabric of discrimination. People were not allowed to mix either for marriage or dining were prohibited from lower order to higher order. Chandālas, the Untouchables or Asprusyas or Athishūdras or modern dalits were not allowed to move, stay in the streets and localities of the higher varnas. Settlement of the untouchables were located near vallakāḍu or burial ground of the village settlements.

The coming of the untouchables was to be announced before their arrival by shouting or by making sound and also by hanging pot under armpit to spit and leaf (palmyra branch) were tied at the back to wipe out the foot prints of the Untouchables. The Untouchables were allowed to the caste Hindu locality only to carry away the dead cattle or other animals and to clean drainages etc.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The present study is based on field data collected from the region under study through interviews with elderly people, temple servants and those who are associated with the āchāramu (practice). Texts of Palanāṭi Vira Charitra are available in parts. Of such parts some are available in manuscripts and mostly in song form. One community called the Mālās - the Viravidyāvantulu (story tellers) retain the legal right of singing the ballad. Text of Palanāṭivīrula katha (story of the heroes of Palanāḍu), ascribed to Srīnātha, Mallaiāh and Konḍaiāh edited by Pingali Lakshmi Kantham has been taken as the main source of the present study.

The textual evidence is supplemented by epigraphical and architectural evidences. Oral information has also been utilized in the interpretation of knowing the meaning and cultural context, social significance and religious importance of those words whose meanings are not mentioned by many well known lexicons.

NEED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is is maiden attempt. People took interest in this great work only from a literary point of view. Palanāṭi Paurusham or heroism of Palnāḍu, no doubt,

gave inspiration to people in writing play-lets, dramas, poems and even making films. All those works could never reflect the multicoloured cultural, socio-religious dimensions of Palnāḍu. A poet took that suited his theme for example Nāgamma, Bālachandruḍu, Kannammanēḍu, Brahmanāyūḍu etc., were as heroes are important characters or personalities. Moreover the socio-religious and cultural factors that made a total Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra were not fully dealt by any researcher. Mr. Roghair has expressed in his epic Palnāḍu, the need for further research in a more comprehensive way to fill the gaps on the cultural canvas of Palanāṭi society.

UTILITY OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is aimed at to find out more facets and facts pertaining to social, religious, cultural and onomastic interpretations in the given political setting. The customs, conventions, superstitions, taboos that were prevalent in the society of Palnāḍu as revealed from the oral and written forms are checked with the prevalent ones and an attempt has been made to find out the roots of the expressions made therein.

Thus, the present study would bring to light very many facts which may help to unveil the curtain of cultural and

social stigmas which made the social living unbearable. Many clues that would solve the present day social, religious and cultural problems have been traced out. After all, the prime purpose of writing history is to provide a proper understanding of their past, to live amicably in the present and to proceed into the future in right direction. The present study would bring to light the struggle of Dalits for social emancipation. It was only in Palnāḍu due to the Vaishnava reform undertaken by Brahmanāyūḍu, the Dalits could come into the main stream of the social life. The present study is useful to trace the first Dalit reform through religion. Thus, the utility of the present work would be of immense value, it would help for further studies in Dalit history.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The topography and cultural conditions of Palnāḍu are found mention in literature. A 'Chātuverse' or strayverse supposed to have been written by Śrīnātha the renowned poet-laureate of the court of Pedakōmaṭivēma of the Redḍi Kingdom of Konḍaveeḍu gives the following topographical details of Palnāḍu.

"Small stones and small time gods
Water of Nāgulēru and slate slabs
Millet and sorghum diet
Serpents and scorpions
Little villages of Palnāḍu".¹

Villages of Palnāḍu were throbbing with poverty and want. The land was filled with small stones all over. There are very minor deities. The gods of dry land cannot be rich - as the devotees so the gods. Except the water supplied by Nāgulēru there is no other water source. The arid land is infested with snakes and scorpions. Millets and maize are the staple food of the people. Until the implementation of Nāgārjuna Sāgar irrigation project, the same conditions prevailed in Palnāḍu.

A stray verse reflects a common response at the mention of Palnāḍu. Any gentleman would never visit Palnāḍu. Even the most beautiful courtesans resembling that of the celestial courtesan Rambha will not be attended by any visitor in Palnāḍu. Therefore, she has to eke out her own livelihood by spinning cotton. Even the richest men at Palnāḍu have to plough. Fine and tasty meals are rare in this area. Even the most handsome person Kāma, the god of love, will be served with Sorghum meal.

Scholarly and popular interest in Palnāḍu tradition may be traced to the beginning of the 20th century, when the first printed versions appeared. Mr.C.P.Brown, an English Indian Civil Servant, the great scholar and patron of Telugu language collected several manuscripts belonging to Palanāṭi

Vīra Charitra in the mid-nineteenth century and frequently referred to them in his dictionaries. The first printed version of Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra which appeared in 1911 was edited by Sri Akkirāju Umakāntham. His publication of Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra and Virulakathalu or the stories of Heroes was followed by other works on the Heroes of Palnāḍu. Sri Chilukūri Veerabhadra Rao, edited a book entitled Nāyakurāli Darpamu (Pride of Nāyakurālu) published in 1930.²

Mr. Najar making use of Veerabhadra Rao's novel wrote a burra-katha song which became popular.³ Another important scholarly work on the Palnāḍu tradition was Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra by Pingali Lakshmikantham which appeared in 1961.⁴ Palanāṭi Vīra Bhāratamu by Ketavarapu Krishnamurthy appeared in 1961, which contain several brief episodes which are not found in any other published material.⁵ Rentala Gopalakrishna's prose version of Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra appeared in 1971.⁶

Śrīnatha's Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra was edited by Akkirāju Umakāntham (Madras, Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, 1955). This version includes two extended introductions the first written for 1911 edition; and the second for that of 1938. It is partly in English and partly in Telugu.

Robert Sewell was introduced to the poem, Palanāṭi Vira Charitra when he visited Palnāḍu in 1879. His long summary of it appeared as appendix to his Antiquarian Remains of Madras Presidency (1882). It is the fullest rendering of Palnāṭi tradition in English language. Robert Sewell lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, Vol.I (Madras Government Press, 1882, Appendix A. pp.i-xi).

Chittibābu's Palanāṭi Vira Charitra appeared in 1973. The book stresses that the heroic history of Palnāḍu is the common property of all people of Andhra Pradesh. Telugu Jānapada Géya Sāhityamu, by Birudurāju Rāmarāju, which appeared in 1958, gives summaries of hundreds of particularly oral, Telugu narratives provides a good summary of Palanāṭi Vira Charitra.⁷

'Telugu Vira Gātha Kāvītvamu' by Tangirala Venkata Subbaravu⁸ appeared in 1968. He further published a series of popular articles in the Telugu weeklies, Āndhra Prabha and Āndhra Jyōthi, which explore the geographical and archaeological sites associated with the Heroes of Palnāḍu. He has also emphasized the role of bards who perform at the annual festival in Palnāḍu while narrating the nature of the oral literary traditions.

Roghair,⁹ an eminent researcher translated Palanāṭi Vira Charitra which he has collected from the oral form sung by Viravidyāvantulu. He has recorded the oral form by taking a lot of risk and trouble and finally ventured to translate the version he has collected.

Being alien to the cultural and linguistic patterns of Palnāḍu, he could not entirely bring to life the original flavour of the inner idiom of Telugu. Thanks to the great work undertaken by him for which the cultural historians and folklore researchers on the one hand and the entire Telugu speaking people on the other hand indebted to him. His work has generated keen yearning for further research in the studies on Palnāḍu.

Dr. Korlapati Srirama Murthy¹⁰ of Andhra University tried to justify the stand and personality of Nāgāmma and tried to prove her personality as not cunning and cruel. However, this work is based more on logical analysis of the then politics of Palnāḍu.

Early work done:

The history, tradition and culture of the untouchables, popularly known as Scheduled Caste are as old as the

brahminical traditions in India. Being noteworthy of any significance, the activities and sacrifices done by the Scheduled Caste people through the ages have not been recorded as part of the study. With the coming of the British, an indological research gave birth to several interesting facts recorded about the original inhabitants of India. Translation of social histories and anthropological studies have been undertaken, the information gathered from the original sanskrit works of India amply supplemented the gap of social history in India, growing interest in the indological studies particularly towards the Dalit Histories and problems necessitated by political pressures brought to light many facts from the hidden history of the Dalits in India. Studies on the natives, particularly the forgotten tribes and the untouchables, can be traced back to the beginnings of this century. Several social movements hastened the process of making crucial enquiries into the caste and present problem of Dalits.

Poets, writers, journalists, photographers, social reformers and myriads of other people brought to light many aspects of Dalit way of life. Today, untouchables rose their voice and fighting restlessly for their survival, social justice and economic status. The following works

would throw some light on the problems and prospects of the Scheduled Caste people in India.

Significant studies on the Mālās are very few. A brief account of the origin of Mālās is presented by some ethnographers like Edgar Thurston (1975)¹¹ and G.S.Ghurye (1961) who have given description of the culture of Mālā. Infact, they have written the monographs on the basis of census records and official documents.

Thurston mentions in his book Castes and Tribes in South India that the Mālās are considered to be servants of upper castes for whom they act as caste messengers on the occasion of marriage and funerals. L.S.S. O'Malley in his book, Indian caste customs (1932) mentions the origin of untouchables. The untouchables are commonly referred to as "the depressed classes" and are sometimes called the "out castes" or "out caste Hindus" as distinguished from other higher castes which are referred to as caste Hindus. George W.Brigg's book The Chamaras (1920) contains the cultural account of the Chamaras or Mādigas (leather workers) of Uttar Pradesh.

Sachchidananda (1977) in his book The Harijan Elite has tried to analyse their status, mobility and role in

transformation, Sunanda Patwardan (1973) in her book entitled Change among India's Harijans studies the major group of Harijans in the State of Maharashtra. This study reveals that some of the major Harijans in Maharashtra gives two broad trends - positional and structural.

The depressed classes in India - an enquiry into their conditions and suggestions for their uplift (1977) is one of the compilations of several articles written by various reformers and academicians with an introductory note given by Rajendra Singh Vatsa. It deals with their origin, who are socially ostracised, economically exploited and politically deprived.

L.P.Vidyarthi and N.Mishra (1977) in their book Harijan Today deal with the sociological, economic, political, religious and cultural analysis of the Harijans from the two (Maghahi and tribal zones) of the four culture - linguistic zones of Bihar. Mumtaz Ali Khan (1980) in his book Scheduled Castes and their status in India studies about the Scheduled Castes in Bangalore district.

Michael Maffatt (1979) in his book An Untouchable Community in South India makes a detailed study of the Untouchables in the village of Endeavour of Tamil Nadu.

B.S.Murthy (1971) has also contributed a lot on Harijans in his book called Depressed and Oppressed. He himself being a Harijan has narrated the problems of his fellowmen. Dr. Ambedkar's (1946) three books, Who were the Sudras? The untouchables and what congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables are well recognised and often quoted. Through these books, he stressed social and religious systems of untouchability and the political safeguards of the Harijans of recent origin.

Sri A.Aiyappan (1966) in his book, social revolution in Kerala village and K.C.Alexander (1966) in his book, A Study of the Changing Patterns of Behaviour, the Pulaya untouchable of Kerala have reported certain changes among Irva and Pulaya of Kerala. Both these groups have experienced rapid change and have gained in social status through education.

Sri R.R.Trivedi (1976) in his book entitled Scheduled Caste women studies in exploitation with a special reference to superstition, ignorance and poverty deals with the exploitation of the scheduled caste women for immoral traffic in human flesh. The study was undertaken in three regions, Bijapur district in Karnataka, Raipur in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Kashi in Uttar Pradesh.

Mrs. C.Parvathamma (1968) in her book "Scheduled Castes and Tribes - A Social Economic Survey" gives some account of frustration prevalent among the Scheduled Castes in the post independent India.

J.Michael Mahar (1972) has studied about untouchables in his famous book, "The Untouchables in Contemporary India". He dealt with the role of the untouchables in rural community, religious reforms, government efforts to abolish untouchability and the social and psychological response to the change of status.

Kamble (1982) in his book, the scheduled Caste observes that in addition to constitutional safeguards and several legislative measures to abolish untouchability and bring them at par with other sections of Indian society by providing educational occupational sphere, which constitutes the biggest core of welfare schemes for the Scheduled Castes.

G.Viswanatham and K.Narasimha Reddy (1985) have made explorative attempt to find out the determinants of educational achievement among Scheduled Castes in their book Scheduled Castes: A Study in Educational Achievements. Most specifically they have examined whether or not there are

classwise variations among them with respect to educational achievement. Their research study is based on the assumption that the scheduled castes are no longer homogenous community and that there are perceptive differences among them with respect to class status and power, parental attitude and its perception as a valuable channel of upward social mobility, availability of tradition of education and the existing of education oriented sub-culture.

D.Venkateswarlu (1990) makes a different study about the conflicts between the Harijans and Upper castes. In his book, Harijan-Upper caste conflicts, he observed that there is a new level of awareness and consciousness among them that has not only enhanced their aspirations and ambitions but also made them assertive. This is not tolerated by the socially and economically dominant among the caste Hindus. There is a situation of conflict develops when the Harijans wish to realise their aspirations or assert their rights which the dominant among caste Hindus do not concede.

Jaatiya Prabodhamu

Written by Sri Yeluri Appala Swamy from Rangoon in 1939 highlights the need for the awakening of the scheduled Castes who have been suppressed by the higher castes in

respect of economic, social and cultural spheres at their lives. The author has witnessed several atrocities when he came from Burma to his native district i.e. West Godavari. He was surprised to see atrocities being committed on the untouchables. He laments on the deplorable conditions of his people who were once the rulers of this country. He awakens his people to renounce the religion which does not treat them as human beings, also advises them to rise in revolt against the archaic way of life. This work, though very small in volume but highlights the mega problem of the untouchables, caused by the higher caste people.

Sri Boya Bhimanna's first published writings, around 1936, described the inhuman conditions of village life, 'highlighting the need for establishing a socialistic patterns of society'. Then Pālēru ('A farm Boy') published in 1940 showed Dalit village struggles and suffering at the hands of landlord and unenlightened father; the way out, it depicted, as town based education and service in the bureaucracy. Kooli Rāju, written in 1941 and published in 1947, described the agricultural labourer movement in the villages, but had its resolution when a Dalit woman is elected as government head. Finally, Raaga Vasishtam (1940), described the marriage of Vasishta and Arundati, emphasizing a 'strong casteless nation' and arguing that

'Harijans and Aryans' make a harmonious blend of the society. These writings depict the rural base of caste-class conflicts, but they show a Hindu incorporationism and a middle-class reformist solution. This also seems to have been accompanied by an Anti-Muslim orientation.

On the other hand, the militancy of lower class dalits was increasingly being expressed in communist agricultural labour organizing, in active struggles so patently lacking in the resolutions of the Adi-Andhra conferences. Many young Dalits joined the movement from the early 1940's, including Guntur Bapanaiah, Prasad Rao, M.Sriramulu, Koneru Ranga Rao, R.A.Kotayya, Kandhi Kaithaya, Nagabhushanam (East Godavari), K.Mohan Rao (East Godavari) and M.Svarnavamanaya. Guntur Bapanaiah became General Secretary of Agricultural Labourer Union (ALU) and K.Surya Prakash Rao became its President from 1941 to 1943. Even the strong anti-Ambedkar stance of the communists aroused tensions, Surya Prakash Rao, for example, reports that his final alienation from the party came in 1944 when a resolution of ALU described the Muslim League as a political party, but called the Scheduled Caste federation a 'Communal Organisation'. He opposed this and circulated a dissenting note emphasizing the economic and social degradation of Dalits and the need for Unity of the toiling masses, arguing

finally that social upliftment was even more important than economic upliftment.

Mallapalli ('Mālā Quarters' or 'Mālā villages')

By the famous reformer Unnava Lakshminarayana, describes the social and economic effects of commercialization in the delta and the responses of Dalits to this. Agricultural labourers are depicted as realizing the manipulative potential of the new wage system in eroding real wages, use of coercion, preventing cattle from grazing on private lands, beating of Dalits and the eviction of poor peasants from their lands are shown, along with a major crisis of traditional cultural values, as Hargopal summarizes.

The main reason presented for the absence of class consciousness in the hegemony of the Hindu world-view conditioning the consciousness of the Harijans. This prevents them from revolting. This theme is presented through one character who finds several philosophical explanations for their degenerating living conditions. His elder son opts for the Gandhian model of resistance which broadly fits the Hindu philosophy of action. He joins the 'Panchama' movement launched by the Scheduled Castes and attempts to organise his caste people. But, the landlord

who smacks the potential of the movement violently kills him. This act get absorbed by the peace loving nature of these groups coupled with the manipulations by the ruling elite and the intervention of the state. This indicates not only the structural constraints in which the poor Harijans were locked but the cobweb of consciousness which permitted them little concerted and organized action.

Harijan Nāyakudu (Harijan Leader)

Written by N.G.Ranga, the famous Parliamentarian published in 1933 reflected the ideological position of this peasant leader. The hero is a 'Harijan' social reformer who agitates on various issues, opposing the violence against and abuse of Dalits, organizing intercaste marriages, establishing schools, fighting for entry into temples and use of public wells. Dalits are depicted as allying with peasant Kammas, in contrast with the Kamma landlords who do not soil their hands.

Hargopal, as a Marxist critiques the reformist (integrationist) consciousness depicted in the Dalits falling prey to theme of class harmony and change of heart, in accepting their status as Hindus. But, what even the Marxist did not recognise (and it is striking that even in 1980s and 1990s Marxists throughout India continued to refer

to Dalits as 'Harijans'), is that in 1920s and 1930s militant dalits were thoroughly rejecting both the Panchama and Harijan identity and were organising themselves as Adi Andhra.

Harijans in Indian Society

Written by Dr.Suresh Narain Srivastava (1979) "an attempt has been made to study the problems of the lowest of the low among the Sudras, mostly untouchables, to provide a historical perspective to the current problems of social dimensions and to establish a dialogue between the dead past and the living present". Based on the original sources, the author has divided his scholarly work into following chapters, Definition, Origin and Growth, social Life, Education and Religion. The attitude of the Savarnas, Social Handicaps and persecutions, Village and Town planning, Occupation, Standard of Living, The Ethnological Background, attitude towards their plight, causes of the stratification, Gleanings from Archaeological Sources, Survey of conditions from Sixth century A.D. till date. It is a good scholarly work on Scheduled Caste.

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THE REGION

The canvas over which the theme and spirit of struggle for social status and religious reform took place during the period under study is known as Palnāḍu. This geographical zone present certain unique physical features and thereby became famous for its heroism and straight-forwardness.

The rocky land, known as Palnāḍu is an ancient division of the Telugu country. Lying near the geographical centre of the contemporary Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, it occupies an area of three great cultural and territorial divisions of the Telugu land meet. These divisions present various peculiar characters. Neither culturally nor geographically does it fit easily into any one the divisions.

The Krishna river

The Krishna river, one of the great eastward flowing rivers of peninsular India, forms the natural northern and western boundary which separates Palnāḍu from Telangāṇa. The Krishna river penetrates the Telangāṇa is that portion of the former Hyderabad state which is now incorporated into the Telugu linguistic state of Andhra Pradesh. These hill

ranges also separate Palnāḍu from Rāyalaseema, the dry rocky country on the south and south-west.

The Nallamala Hills form a natural boundary standing between Palnāḍu and the fertile coastal deltaic of the east.

Gurazala

In the heart of Palnāḍu, the famous town is Gurazala. It is the administrative headquarters of the Taluk of Guntur district. Gurazala is on the main road from Guntur to Nagarjuna Sagar and Hyderabad, the state capital. It is a place, to which local agriculturists come and see a film, to kill time, to engage in politics or to pick up supplies. It is also a very congenial place from which people set out for more distant places of pilgrimage, business or any other activity.

Rocks and stones nothing more in Palnāḍu. A visitor to Palnāḍu will immediately be struck by the preponderance of rock. Palnāḍu is indeed, a land of rock and stone. Icons representing gods of regional importance are carved out of the local rock.

Past politics of Palnāḍu

Though dry and deprived of any resources for economic

survival, Palnāḍu has been at various times politically dominated by rulers from the three regions of Andhra Pradesh. Sometimes it served as a buffer zone among them.

Lithic records and copper plate grants pertaining to the dynasties of these three regions are found. The Chālukya-Chōla, the Tsandolu, Koṇedena, Koṇḍa Paḍamaṭi Haiheyas of Palnāḍu, Kōṭas of Dharaṇikoṭa, the Kākatīyas of Warangal and the Vijayanagar kings. These dynasties had their sway over a period of one thousand years at various intervals. Vestiges of their rule are found scattered all over Palnāḍu in the form of temples, forts, water tanks, memorial stones, idols etc.

Historical Background

The history and culture of the people of Palnāḍu is mixed up with oral and written manifestations of the land. The oral traditions are current and remembered time and again by the people of Palnāḍu. The oral manifestations comprise the Epic of Palnāḍu locally known as Palanāṭi Virulakatha, a Telugu oral tradition from Palnāḍu region.¹

The written sources are mainly a few epigraphs, which corroborate the epic narration and architectural evidence.²

An epigraph from Satrasāla³ dated A.D. 1103, found in the locally prominent Siva temple on the banks of the Krishna river in Palnāḍu, brings to a close period in the history of Palnāḍu which is almost totally lacking in epigraphical records.

The earliest inscriptions of the region under study belonged to the Ikshvaku kings of Vijayapuri. These are assigned to latter part of the 3rd century A.D. There are very few inscriptions in Palnāḍu that can be dated to a period after the Ikshvaku period. According to the Satrasāla epigraph, a man called Chāgi Bēta⁴ of Haihaya Lineage was ruling the area at that time, and his accession to the throne was brought about his subordinate, Mandādi Révanāyaka.

It is evident from this, that Chāgi Bēta maintained ties with political or matrimonial with the Chālukyas of Kālyāṇ on the one hand and Provincial ruler of Mandādi on the other hand.

The Haihayas of Palnāḍu were a branch of the Haihayas of Kōnamaṇḍala ruling from Kōnaseema.⁵ Vīrakāma, son of Bēta, succeeded to the throne and was ruling Palnāḍu. This is supported by the epigraphic evidence from Mācherla,

dating from 1111 A.D. and 1113 A.D. Both the epigraphs throw light on the western Chālukyas in this region.⁶ Virākāma was succeeded by two of his sons about A.D. 1118, Rāja Rāja-I and Béta II. The rule of Béta II continued upto 1134 A.D. It is evident from the early epigraph of these brothers that they do not acknowledge the suzerainty of Kalyan Chālukyas. An inscription⁷ of Béta II dated 1129 A.D. issued during the reign of Someswara III, the successor of Vikramāditya Chālukya.

It is evident by this that Béta II shifted his capital to Gurazala. The epigraph mentions about the establishment of a Nāgasthambha.⁸

An epigraph dated 1111 A.D. from Adigoppula shows that this area was ruled by a ruler called Komara Dōcaya, son of Divākara Pregarā.⁹ who did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Haihaya ruler. It is very interesting to note from inscripational evidence from Chinna Gārlapāḍu dated 1127 A.D. which commemorates the demise of one Guṇḍi Redḍi who was in the service of Béta II.¹⁰ The Western Chālukyan dominions were ruled by Vikramāditya from 1076 to 1126 A.D. and came to terms with Kulottunga I, of the imperial Chālukya-Chōlas. By the political equilibrium created, Vikramāditya ruled for more than 40 years. An understanding between the two great

monarchs paved the way for the peace and prosperity in the peninsular politics. This apparently benefited the coastal Andhra during the period under study.

Vikramāditya marched on Kanchi Vikrama Chōla son of Kulottunga had to leave Vēngi to protect his imperial capital. The kingdom of Vēngi now became vulnerable to fill this vacuum Ananthapālayya, a western Chālukyan general entered into Palnādu.¹¹

The Durjaya chieftains, the Chōla fedatories who were ruling Velanādu under the leadership of Gonka II fought against the Western Chālukyan generals.¹²

Emergence of Rāju families

We see some cognizable change in the narration and in inscriptions. Individuals are being mentioned who can be identified with some of the persons mentioned in the Palanāti Vira Charitra. The Mācherla epigraph dated 1134 A.D.¹³ records an endowment to a Saiva temple by Anugu Gāma Bhūpathi.¹⁴

Endowments made by Anugu Rāju at various places is corroborated by epigraphical evidence.¹⁵

No information pertaining to the immediate ancestor of Anugu Rāju is available. All the written and oral versions of the Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra are silent about this. A southwards journey from Pālamācāperu was willfully fabricated in order to cover up Béta II's collaboration with the Western Chālūkyas in their invasion of Véngi.¹⁶ However, this is not supported by any inscriptional evidence. The presumption of Anugurāju's surrender to the ruler of Vélanāḍu is untenable on account of the evidence provided in the Anugurāju's Mācherla epigraph dated 1134 A.D.¹⁷

Brief Political History of Palnāḍu

According to the available epigraphical evidence, Nalagāma Rāju was ruling as the feudatory of Gonka II of Vélanāḍu.¹⁸ Anugu Kāma Rāju was the son of Kāmarāju and Mailāla Dévi. Mailāla Dévi otherwise called Mailāma Dévi was the daughter of Gonka II. She can be identified with Mailāla of the oral and written Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra.¹⁹

Apart from Mailāla Dévi, Gonka II had two more wives. Of these the Vīravidyāla Dévi had two sons. Brahma Nāyudu, the Vélaṃa minister served as regent to one of the two sons of Vīravidyāla Dévi. Vīravidyāla Dévi is featured as the first wife of Anugurāju. She has three sons. She was the

daughter of another Western Chālukyan feudatory. Brahmanāyudu refused brides from the Chālukyas of Kalyan in the first instance on the grounds that they were followers of Saivism, whereas he was a Vaishnavite.

All epic accounts place the marriages during Brahmanāyudu's rule at Mācherla and before flight following the cock fight. If the daughters of Sovi Déva were given during his reign (1167-77) or shortly thereafter, such a chronology fits well with the chronology that has been worked out for the events given in the epic. This chronology places the final battle in about 1182 A.D.²⁰

A long standing understanding matrimonial kinship existed between the Haihayas of Palnādu and the Kālāchūris of Kalyan, as attested by the epic narration. In the epic, in addition to the alliance with the Malidéva Rāju's, Nalagāma Rāju's daughter is married to Ala Rāchamallu, the grandson of Sōma Rāju. It is possible that a son of Sovi Déva might have sought asylum for himself in Palnādu at the time of his brother's accession, when the Chālukyas regained the throne of Kalyan.

Mācherla is one of the great Vaishnavite centres in Andhra Pradesh. Brahmanāyudu of the Velama family

associated in one way or other, with the Vaishnava sect led by Rāmānujāchārya.²¹

Brahmanāyudu, who was a radical socio-religious reformer made the Chennakesava temple at Mācherla as the centre of his reform activities.²² Brahmanāyudu's reform went much further and that he accepted the "Panchamas" 'fifth' class of castes into the fold of corporate religious life.²³

9 The period during which Brahmanāyudu lived these great religious movement, Vīrasaivism took place. Basavésvara of Karnāṭaka and Paṇḍitārādhyā of Andhra were the chief exponents of militant Vīrasaiva sect. Haihaya kings were semi-autonomous, who gave their allegiance sometime to Kalyāṇ and sometimes to Velanāḍu. Their inscriptions do not appear in the beginning of the disturbances, that culminated in the battle of Kārémpūdi c.1182 A.D. From this time onwards, the domination of the Kākatīyas of Warangal in the politics and administration of Palnāḍu appear until 1324 A.D. Kākatīyan intervention in Palnāḍu gave great opportunity for the rulers and ruled to prosper. For a century and half religious and sectarian institutions particularly Vaishnava and Saivite mustered strong support.

PROMINENT PLACES OF PALNĀḌU

Mācherla

A railway station being the terminus of Mācherla-Guntur broad gauge section of South Central Railway. It is situated at a distance of 15 miles from Gurazala, the headquarters of Palnāḍu taluk and 80 miles from Guntur, the district headquarters.

Mācherla is the very heart of Palnāḍu, a name which still evokes warm and thrilling memories in the minds of all the Hindu people with the historical knowledge of the Palnāḍu heroes or Palanāṭi Veerulu. It was the ancient capital with numerous remains of antiquity. It is a remarkable place with all its historical importance and with its majestic Chennakesava Swamy temple and sculpture.

The temples of Lakshmi Chennakesava Swamy, Veerabhadra, Anjaneya Swamy, Kāṭamaiah and of Ishtakāmeswara are the important places of worship in the town. Lakshmi Chennakesava Swamy temple is situated on the bank of Perennial stream called Chandravanka, a tributary to the river Krishna at a place where the said stream turns towards North from its western direction. On account of this, it is said that the sacred aspect of the rivulet at uttaravāhini sthala has brought it sanctity equal to holy Benaras.

The sanctity and fame of the place are increased by the erection of Vishnu and Siva temples within the same premises. The pillars in the temple contain the sculptural description of Māhābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa and there are paintings on the walls pertaining to various shastras. The temple is also known for its white marble Nāga pillar, with a long and interesting inscription on it.

The known history of the temple dates back to about the 12th century A.D. The construction of the temple is ascribed to the famous minister of Palanāṭi Brahmanāyudu, though the deity is commonly known to have been installed by Kārtaveerya. It had been the practice of the kings in olden days to maintain all the religious institutions within their jurisdiction and also to have one of them as a centre of their special devotion and attention.

The famous Brahmanāyudu, who migrated to Andhra Desa along with his king Anugu Rāju is consequence of invasion of their realm in the north by Mohammad Gori, worshipped Lord Chennakesavaswamy as his family deity (Kula daiva). The deity is credited to have been blessing his devotees with boons. Brahmanāyudu was blessed with a son Bālachandra sung in the ballads of Palanāṭi Yuddham for his heroic fight during the battle at Kārempūdi.

Sri Lakshmi Chennakesava Swamy festival is celebrated for 16 days from Chaitra Shuddha Pūrṇima to Bahula Amāvāśya (March-April). Flowers, fruits and coconuts etc., are offered. This festival is of an ancient origin. Hindu devotees congregate for this festival from far off places. Pūjāri (priest) is a Brahmin with hereditary rights.

Mandādi

Situated at a distance of 6 miles to the south of Macherla. When Brahmanāyudu was ruling Palnādu, this place was the grazing ground for the herds of cattle of the king and hence it is called Mandāla Adi (Mandal means herds and Adi means first), which gradually become Mandādi. This was one of the places sung in the ballads relating to Palanāṭi Yuddham, the glorified battle of Palnādu.

The total population of the village is 2,435 and it is made up of the following communities: caste Hindu-Brahmin, Vaisya, Kāpu, Kamma, Tēlaga etc., Scheduled Castes (132)-Adi Andhra, Scheduled Tribes (228) - Yerukala, Yānadi, Chenchu, Lambāda, Muslims and Christians. The chief means of their livelihood is agriculture - agricultural labour and other traditional occupations.

Gundiapaḍu

Situated at a distance of 12 miles from the Mācherla Railway station.

The temple of Umamaheswara Swamy, Sita Rama Swamy, Tirupatamma and of Gangamma (in a ruined state) are the places of worship in this village..

Umamaheswara Swamy festival is celebrated for a day on Māgha Bahula Chaturdasi (January-February). The devotees observe fasting and jāgāram. This is an ancient festival. The local devotees of all communities participate. Prasadam is distributed to all.

Sita Rama swamy kalyanothsavam is celebrated on Chaitra Śuddha Navami (March-April) with local congregation.

Kandiagunṭa

Situated at a distance of 10 miles from the Mandādi-Narasaraopet bus route, 16 miles from Mācherla and 32 miles from Gurazala.

The temples of Sṛī Rāma, Ānjanéya Śwamy, Vināyaka, Poleramma (Dongarāmma), a church and a peerla chāvidi are the places of worship in this place. Jātara is celebrated

by the villagers according to their convenience and when epidemics prevail in the village, animals are sacrificed to please gods. This is an ancient festival. The patrons and followers are Kāpus. The local people congregate. Pūjāri (priest) is a Yādava of Munagāla gōtram, not a Brahmin.

Gottipalle

Situated at a distance of 6 miles from Veldurthi and 16 miles from the Mācherla Railway Station. Gangālagunṭa is a hamlet of this village.

The temples of Mārkaṇḍēya Swāmy and the village deity Sathemma are main in the village. Gottipalle and Sita Rāma Swamy temple in its hamlet Gangālagunṭa are the places of worship.

Sathemma Jatara is celebrated once in 2 years for one day before Vaiśākha Śuddha Purnima (April-May). The devotees fulfill their vows. Animals are sacrificed. This is an ancient festival confined to the nearby villages. The local people congregate. Prasādam is distributed to all.

Śrī Mārkaṇḍēya Swāmy Uthsavams are celebrated twice in a year on Āshāḍha Śuddha Ēkādasī (June-July) and Māgha Bahula Chaturdasī (January-February).

Śrī Sītā Rāma Swāmy Uthsavam is celebrated for one day in Gangālagunṭa on Chaitra Śuddha Navami (March-April). The Uthsavam is also celebrated on Āsviyuja Śuddha Daśami (September-October). Fasting, jāgaram and feasting are observed by the devotees. This is of ancient origin. The local people congregate. Pūjāri (priest) is a Brahmin. Pānakam (Jaggery juice) and Vadapappu (soaked horsegram) are distributed to all.

Śrīgīripāḍu

Situated at a distance of 4 miles from the Vēldurthi-Narasaraopet bus route 22 miles from the Mācherla Railway station. As this village is situated on Śrīgīri on the midst of Śrīsailam hills, it is called Śrīgīripāḍu.

Śrī Rāma Temple with the images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa carved on a single stone. Two Siva temples, Kanka Durgamma and Pōlēramma temples are the places of worship in this village. The image of Ānjanēya Swāmy with no temple is also worshipped.

Śrī Rāma Navami is celebrated for one day on Chaitra Śuddha Navami (March-April). Coconuts and bananas are offered. The procession images are taken round the temple on Garudavāhanam (Eagle chariot). This is an ancient local

festival. Brahmins are the trustees. The local people congregate, Pūjari (priest) is a Brahmin of Parāśara gótram.

Sankaracharya Jayanthi is celebrated on Vaisākha Śuddha Panchami (April-May).

The devotees offer coconuts and bananas to Ānjanēya Swāmy and perform Pūja on every Saturday.

Charlagudipādu

Situated by the side of Gurazala-Vinukonda bus route and 3 miles from the Gurazala Railway station on the Guntur-Macherla section of South Central Railway. It is said that in the course of the battle of Palnādu, Alugurāju was killed in this village. Even now there are the relics of that episode in this place.

The temple of Siva, Rāma and Venugópala Swāmy and Alekhaswamy Mandir are the places of worship in the village.

Venugópala Swāmy Rathóthsavam (chariot procession) is celebrated for 5 days from Vaisākha Śuddha Purnima (April-May). There was only Kalyanóthśavam (Gods marriage celebrations) in the previous years. About 4 years back, a ratham (chariot) was constructed and rathótsavam is also

being celebrated every year. During these 5 days, Kalya-
nóthśavam, Ponnamānu Uthsavam (ponna tree celebrations),
Rathóthśavam, Garudóthśavam and Vasanthóthśavam (spring
season celebrations) are celebrated in chronological order.
This festival is of ancient origin. The local people
congregate. Pūjari (priest) is a Vaishṇava Brahmin with
hereditary rights. Prasādam is distributed to all.

Ālékhaswāmy festival is celebrated for one day on
Kāṛthika Śuddha Purnima (October-November). He was a great
devotee and did his best to enlighten the people. Festival
arrangements are made 10 days in advance. Saints and sādhūs
(Mendicants) attend the festival and sing the kīrthanās
(songs sung in praise of gods) praising Ālékhaswāmy. This
is being celebrated for the past 25 years. The disciples
and patrons are Kammās. The local people congregate
prasādam is distributed to all.

Gurazala

The Mandal headquarters. Situated at a distance of 63
miles from Guntur, on the Guntur-Nagarjuna Sagar bus route.
There is a Railway station on the Mācherla-Guntur broadguage
section of the South Central Railway. This was known as
Gurividala and Madhavīpuram in the ancient days. There are

several versions current for the origin of the name of the taluk 'Palnāḍu'.

During the time of Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana II (A.D. 669) also this part of the country was known as Palnāḍu. The village Koṇeki is now known as Koṇanki and is in Palnāḍu taluk. This part of the country was known as Pallināḍu during the times of Kākatīyas. There are several inscriptions of these kings, which mention 'Palnāḍu' and the celebrated Telugu poet, Śrīnātha mentioned this part of the country as Palnāḍu. One of his poems refers that:

"Villasillu Palanāṭi Virulu Charitra
Janulēlla Bhakthichē Jāgrutha Kōraku"
or

'The story of the heroes of Palnāḍu will prosper for the devotional awareness of the people.'

Another version is that this part of the country was known as Pallavanāḍu as thousands of Pallavas who embraced Buddhism and Jainism were living here and that Pallavanāḍu later became Palnāḍu. In an inscription of Kōtasāni well beside the road to Rēṇṭachinthala from Gurazala, it is stated that Nāgas lived here. There is another inscription in Pāli in Nagarjuna Sagar valley to say that this province was ruled by Āndhra Sathavāhana kings in the time of Ācharya Nāgarjuna, the 2nd century A.D.

Ikshvākus in the 3rd century, Pallavas from the 4th to 8th, Chólas in the 9th and 10th centuries. Chālukyas and Vélanāṭi Chólas in the 11th Palanāṭi Veerulu, Padmanāyakas in the 12th, Kakatīyas in 13th and 14th centuries, Kōndaveeti Reddi kings in the 14th and 15th centuries, Vijayanāgara kings in the 16th century, Golkōṇḍa Nawab and Arcot Nawab successively, Nalagāma Rāju had Gurazala as his capital. There is a place called Palanāṭi Veerulu Kōṭa in Gurazala which is now called 'Kōṭagadda'. A Siva temple called Mukkanṭi Gūḍi is in the middle of the palace, which is believed to have been in the middle of the fort and it was a place of worship for all the people in the fort then. Behind the travellers bungalow in Gurazala, an inscription in Pāli was found during the excavation. It was two thousand years old. Jangamahēswāram situated at a distance of 2 miles from Gurazala is its hamlet.

Pāthapatamma temple and the temple of Rāma Ishtakāmeśwara, Venugōpāla, Ankamma, Muthyālamma, Gangamma, Ānjaneya, Vignēswāra and Veerabhadra are the places of worship in the town. There is an inscription by Rāja Rāja Narēndra in the last mentioned temple, stating that the temple was built in 1470 Śaka Era (1548 A.D.) by that king and was dedicated to Veerabhadra Swamy. There are Mosques and Churches too.

Pāthapatamma Jātara is celebrated for 5 days from Mārgasira Śuddha Ēkādaśi to Purnima (November-December). The festival begins on Ēkādaśi with biyyapukōla, which continues for 3 nights. This ritual is to measure the rice with mānika (equal to 12 Seers), 5 times in each of the three nights. The measured rice increases in quantity, which is believed to be due to the greatness of the deity. Many people witness the measurement every time with enthusiasm and devotion. The deity is taken in procession through all the streets of the town on these five days. On the last day i.e. Purnima, a mṛānu (tree) is taken in procession and at the centre of the village near the bōddurāyi (stone laid in the centre of the village), a lamb is sacrificed as 'gāvu' by a person called Pōtharāju, who cuts the throat of the lamb with his sharp teeth and drinks the blood of the lamb.

The tree, which is known as Sidimānu, is taken back to the temple to which is tied a mēkapōthu or he-goat and taken round the temple thrice and then left free. The same goat is used as the Sidi till it dies. With the procession of Kumkuma bandlu (carts with vermilion) on the same day the Jātara comes to an end. Coconuts, Pāyasam (a sweet soup made of vermicelli, milk and jaggery) etc., are offered

every day. Cocks are sacrificed and vows are discharged by the devotees.

Gāmalapāḍu

Situated at a distance of 6 miles from Gurazala.

Addanki Nānchāramma festival is celebrated for 6 days in Jaishtam (May-June). The local people congregate.

Gogulapāḍu

Gogulapāḍu situated at a distance of 2 miles from the Ambāpuram Railway station and 4 miles from Gurazala.

The temple of Neelakantēśwara Swāmy at a distance of 2 furlongs from the village, with the Swayambhoo Sivalingam and the temples of Venugōpāla Swāmy, Ānjaneya Swāmy, Saint Brahman and Pōlēramma are the places of worship in the village.

Sri Neelakantēśwara Swāmy festival is celebrated during Śivarātri for 2 days on Māgha Bahula Chaturdaśi and Amāvāsya (January-February). The devotees from distant places too come to fulfill their vows. Prabhās (colours attached to long decorated Bamboos brought on bullock carts) are taken round the temple. Jāgaram is observed. This is an ancient festival. The patrons are Kāpus. The local devotees congregate. Pūjari is a Brahmin of Vasishta gōtram.

REFERENCES

1. There are many views current among people regarding the authorship of Palnāṭi Vīrūlakatha. Some times, it is ascribed to Srīnathā, the court poet of Pedakōmativēma Redḍi of Kōṇḍavidu, who wrote the life achievements of the heroes of Palnāḍu, at the instance of Lord Chēnnakēśava of Mācherla.
2. Although the epic Palnāḍu incorporates stories originating in many different times and places, its major outlines appear to be the eight centuries year old creative memory of a small segment of South Indian History. For details how the time of the battle and other events were fixed, see Sreenāthuḍu, Palnāṭi Vīracharitra, Pingali Lakshmikantham, ed., pp.7-19.
3. M.Rama Rao, Inscriptions of Āndhradesa Vol.II, Part-I, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupathi, 1968, p.288.
4. Bēta was an ally of Vikramāditya-VI, the Western Chālukyan ruler of Kālyan. V.Yashoda Devi, the History of Andhra Country, Ch.II, 'The Haihayas', Journal of Āndhra Historical Research Society, XIX, July 1948, p.29.
5. The region corresponding to the modern taluks of Rājōlu, Sakhinētipalle and their contiguous parts of the East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh.
6. Both epigraphs mention endowments made by a certain Āditya who is believed to have been a Chālukya general, to the temple of god Ādityēswara. The second one is for the establishment of the Nāgastambha on which the record of the gift is inscribed. The Nāga sculpture is of a high quality piece engraved by Kanarese engravers.
7. Yasoda Devi, V., Andhra Country, JAHS, p.30.
8. It is probable that the Western Chālukyan influence was still strong or was strengthening, JAHS, Vol.XIX, p.30.

9. Dr.M.Rama Rao suggested Karnataka connection of this region on the basis of nature of names. Inscriptions of Āndhradēsa, Vol.II, Part I, p.283.
10. This would indicate an important role in the service of the Haihayas of local extraction; Reddi being indigenous to the Āndhras. K.A.N.Sastri, 'The Chālukyas of Kalyāni' in the Early History of the Deccan. Ed. G.Yazdani, London Oxford University Press, 1960, pp.356-7.
11. B.V.Krishna Rao, Chālukyas of Vēngi, p.485.
12. Ibid., p.486.
13. M.Rama Rao, Inscriptions of Āndhradēsa, Vol.II, Part-I, p.288.
14. The 'Rāju' who is the eldest of this line mentioned in several written and oral versions of the tradition is called Anugu Rāju or Alugu Rāju.
15. M. Rama Rao, Vol.II, Part I, p.217 & 288, JAHRS, Vol.XIX, p.32. One undated epigraph mentions about the Pallinātivīra Anugudēv Mahārāja. Anugu Kāma Rāju or Anugu Gāma Rāja, however was another name adorned by Vikrama, son of Bēta I. It is possible that Anugu Rāju may have been Bēta II's son.
16. According to one version, Anugu Rāju was driven out of Palnāḍu and forced to roam until finally he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of the ruler of Vēlanāḍu, who gave him his daughter in marriage and Palnāḍu as dowry. JAHRS Vol.XII, Part I (Oct. 1948) pp.49-53.
17. Inscriptions of Āndhra Pradesh, Vol.II, Pt.I, p.288.
18. Ibid., p.286. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol.X, No.120.
19. Except the event of journey from the North, the rest of the events mentioned in the oral and written traditions are corroborated by epigraphical records.

20. Śrīnātha, Mallaya and Koṇḍayya, Palnāṭivīracharitra, Ed. Pingali Lakshmi Kantham and Avasarāla Suryarāvu, pp.7-19.
21. The great Vaishnava reformer Ramanujacharya born in 1017 A.D. spent most of his life and did most of his work at Śrīrāngam. In the latter years of his age, he was subjected to persecution by the Chōla prince of his time, who wanted him to renounce Vaishnavism for Saivism. As a result, he took refuge in 1096 A.D, in the dominions of Hoyasala Yadava Princes. R.G. Bhandarkar, Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious systems, pp.51-52. The people of Palnāḍu are mentioned originally as devotees of Śrīranganāyakūḍu and then to have switched their devotion and loyalty to Chennakesava.
22. Too much emphasis has been put on the radicalism of Brahmanāyūḍu. We see the method of conversion adopted by Brahmanāyūḍu are similar to those of Rāmanuja. Rāmanuja insisted on the caste rules in food and other things, but converted the Śūdras into Vaishnavism and allowed even the Panchamas, the privilege of visiting certain temples once in anyear.
23. Vīra Vidyāvantulu as Mālās who worship Chennakesava of Mācherla. Apart from this, all other neighbouring temples of Chennakesava are also venerated by Mālās. Mālās, one of the great right hand untouchables of Andhra came into the mainstream of religious life, because of the Vīravaishnava conversions particularly due to the social reform undertaken by Brahmanāyūḍu.

Chapter-III
THE MĀLĀS

The Mālās are one of the great right-hand untouchables of Andhra Pradesh. They have been included in the list of Scheduled Castes as per the Article 341 of the Indian Constitution.¹

The Mālās were the sons of the soil. Originally their profession was weaving and belonged to the wrestling community or the community of 'Mallayódhulu' or wrestlers. However, on account of their settlement identification they were called after the region in which they were living.

Thus, there came into being the sub-division of the Mālās.² Ārava, Kāntha, Murikināḍu, Pakaṇāṭi and Redḍibhūmi, Sarinḍla, Sāvu, Saiṇḍla and Daiṇḍla. Of these divisions some are adjectives which became Sārdhaka nāmas or justified names of merit or demerit and the rest are geographical.

Ārava Mālās were those who have come from out-side.³ Kāṇṭha Mālās were those who were very important like throat to the body. Murikināḍu is a geographical administrative division in which these people were permanently residing. Redḍi-Bhūmi is another geographical division corresponding to 'kudipaiṭa' or right shoulder section.

The Mālās on the basis of their particular way of attire known as Kudi-Paiṭa section, Mālā women wear their paiṭa or last part of the saree on their right shoulder. On account of this specific custom, they are distinctly known from the rest of the women.

Mālā women of Redḍi-Bhūmula and Pakaṇāḍu wear their paiṭa on their right shoulder while that of the women of Murikināḍu wear on left shoulder. Regarding the origin of these three divisions also there is a legendary account.⁴

Exogamous steps of the Mālās

The broad ~~sub~~ divisions viz. Redḍi-Bhūmi, Pakaṇāṭi, Sarinḍla and Daiṇḍlu were having the following exogamous steps of the Mālās.

Redḍi Bhūmi

Avuka or marsh, bandi or cart, Bommala or dolls, Bejjam or holes, Dakku or apprehension or fear, Dinḍla or Platform or Back door, Dóma or gnat or mosquito, Géra or street, kaila or measuring grain in threshing-floor, kāṭika or collyrium, Nathalu or snails, Paiḍa or gola, Pilli or cat, Rāyi or stone, Samudrālu or oceans, Śilam or good conduct, Thanda or bottom of a ship.

Pākanāti

Allam or ginger, Dāra or stream of water, Gādi or a large high basket for storing grain, Gōne or sack, Gurram or horse, Maggam or loom, Mailāri or washerman, Parvatha or mountain, Pindi or flour or powder, Passalu or cattle, Thummula or sneezing.

Sariṇḍla

Boori or a kind of cake, Ballem or spear, Bommidi or the loach or tobacco pipe fish which has a very long head body like an eel, Challa or buttermilk, Chintala or tamarind, Dabbu or money, Gāli or wind, Karna or ear, Kāki or crow, Mudi or knot, Maddili or drum, Mallé or jasmine, Putta or ant-hill, Pāmula of snake, Pidigi or handful, Semmati or hammer, Uyyala or see-saw.

Daṇḍla

Dāsari or Priest, Dōddi or courtyard, Gonji or Indian myrtle, Kommula or horn, Mārri or *Ficus bengilensis*, Pāta or milk, Powāku or tobacco and Tumma or *Acacia arabica*.

It is evident from the above surnames that this tradition has some foundation in the remote past. Many of the house names of the Mālās refer to weapons of war e.g. spear, drum etc. The Mālās belonged to subjugated race and

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have been made servants of the community. Very probably, in earlier days, their services not renumerated, but later certain 'inām' or rent free lands were granted, the produce of which was counted as remuneration for the services they rendered.

Mālās and their services

Apart from weaving and attending to agricultural operations, the Mālās rendered certain village services, which became compulsory and customary.

The services rendered by the Mālās are temple service, Jātara or festival service and village service. The village service consists of sweeping, scavengering, carrying burdens and grave-digging, the last having been their prerequisite for ages past.⁶

The Mālās of the Western part of the Telugu country are of a superior type to those of the East for they have largely retained their lands and in some cases well-to-do cultivators. In the East, weaving is a staple industry and it is still carried on with the most primitive instruments. In one corner of a room stands the loom, with a hole in the mud floor to receive the treadles and a little window in the wall, with the floor level, lights the web. The loom itself

is slung from the rafters and the whole can be folded up and put away in a corner. As a rule, weaving lasts for eight months of the years. The remainder of the year being occupied in reaping and stacking crops etc.

Each Mālā weaver has his own customers, and very often one family of Mālās will weave for one family of Sūdras for generations. Before beginning to weave the weaver worships his loom and rubs his shuttle on his nose, which is supposed to make it smooth while weaving. Some traditional and inspiring songs are sung to pick-up speed or momentum in the treadle operations.

"Vandaitenémirā, reṇḍondalaiténémirā
Nākadé kāvalirā ... etc.
Néstinamma néstiné
Jānadu béttedu néstiné
Dōrasāniki dōragāriki néstiné ... etc."

That means, even it is one hundred or two hundred, I want only that (her). I have woven (cloth), I have woven Jāna or 6 inches, Béttedu or 3 inches for Dōra or Master, Dōrasāni or wife of Master etc.

Each Mālā family will stick to one master or landlord and engage in agricultural operations throughout the year. As such, Mālās are good cultivators and also most trustworthy

field servants. Many having borrowed money from their master could not repay for generations and therefore continued to remain as farm servants on certain conditions. As a result, they became Pālérus or Co-ploughers. But in course of time, these Pālérus became mere servants in the farm of their masters and their households.

Mālās are the great untouchables of the right hand branch. Their principal profession was weaving. They were excellent weavers in coarse yarn. Low number count yarn prepared by them was used on their handlooms. As a matter of social discrimination, they were taxed high. Mālā maggams or the looms of the Mālās were taxed high. The product of the Mālā looms was not directly accepted into the market for sale. Being untouchables they cannot bring them to the common market or sell them directly to any one. First, the fabric has to be weighed and made it wet and kept on a stone known as "Padugu tadipe' saribandā" (Photo 11). The merchant who wanted to purchase such products made on Mālā handloom will come and place the price near stone and take the "Wet product" along with him. There is not much bargaining power for the Mālā weaver to make. There are no competitors for his product also. Whatever price is offered was acceptable to the producer. Such 'padugu tadipe' saribandalu' were placed near the border of 'póliméra' of

the Mālā settlement. Upper caste people would not enter the untouchable residential area nor the untouchables are always allowed to enter the area or residential area of the Śūdras and Vaisyas and agrahāram' - the sacred residential area of Brahmanas.

The Mālās who were a subjugated race, originally efficient in the use of arms and weapons as is evident from the onomastical analysis of their surnames, degraded to the excellent of servitude and ultimately became one of the community servants and by the virtue of their menial professional background became untouchables.

Mālās through out the state of Andhra Pradesh and its contiguous states are labelled as untouchables. But the Mālās of Palnāḍu did some mircales by virtue and sheer did of their valour and attachment to certain principles and code of conduct of life, brought an upwards social mobility and gave a clarion call to the era of reformation through radical social change. This movement brought by the Mālās of Palnāḍu with Vīra Vaishnava background making the Chennakēśava temple at Mācherla as the centre of socio-religious activity. Religion coupled with political support brought about a metamorphic change in Palnāḍu much against the unceasing efforts made by the opponents in the guise

Saivism. The Mālās of Palnāḍu got the victory in the political battle fought at Kāreṃpūḍi, in which they lost their lives and immortalised as Heroes who were entitled for blemishless worship by one and all, but won permanent victory in the social and cultural fronts. This victory paved the way for the promotion of unprecedented social change. The untouchable Mālās became not only vīras or heroes but also Vidyāvanthulu or literate persons.

From weaver - untouchable to Hero-educated status these downtrodden and suppressed folk, got themselves elevated. The Vīra-vaishnava atmosphere and the congenial political situation prevalent in Palnāḍu during the period helped this great socio-cultural phenomena, which became an unforgettable land mark in this epoch.

Poverty of Mālās

Mālās are mostly poverty stricken due to their costly habits and poor and limited income. The income generated through their looms was no doubt, very high and economically viable to run a sizeable family. Moreover, it is a profession that provides continuous eight months employment from child to an elderly man in the house. No one is unemployed. Mālās have no specific thrifting habits. They learn more to spend on extravaganga than saving. Regular

use of non-vegetarian food and country-liquor, addiction to gambling, cock-fighting and keeping of more wives made them poor. They borrow very frequently at high rates of interests against their lands and cattle which they have lost, for not able to repay.

Discriminative Laws

Ancient and medieval public administration and justice was based on Varna (caste) rather than on the rule of law. Taxes were levied and collected on the basis of caste or caste profession and justice was given on the basis of caste but not on the evidence. Higher caste people were almost exempted from payment of taxes; and if at all they were to pay, it was only nominal; for example weavers were discriminated on the basis of their caste and material. Pattusālēs, Padmasālēs, Kaikalas, Jāndras and Mālās engaged in weaving different types of cloth. The Pattu, Padmasālēs and Kaikalas wove for the rich while the Jāndras, Tógatas and Mālās for the Sūdras and for themselves. The Mālā looms were taxed heavily⁶ while their fellow weavers who weave for the rich are exempted from weaving or loom tax. This was known Mālāmadali pattu.⁷ The income of the Mālā weavers reduced on account of heavy taxation.

Pologamy

The social and family set-up of Mālās was mostly pologamy. Their profession is suitable for one and all, they used to maintain large families by marrying more wives. Most of the men devoted their time for exercises for keeping their physical strength fit for satisfying their wives. As a part of this programme, they practised Sāmu⁸ fighting with sticks and swords. Taking good and healthy food for good body men enjoyed highest status in the family.

Addiction to Liquor

Being strong and powerful, Mālā men became addicted to intoxicants, country liquor, toddy, opium etc. Regular meat and fish or that sort became their food, which again costed more than vegetarian food. This became a costly affair for a family to maintain them. Mālās are famous for their oaths. Once they make an oath they would fulfill it. As such, they often go for bets, competitions and gambling which some times kept families in debts for generations.

Mālās are the Pariahs of Telugu country. Their name appears in various forms in Sanskrit literature. As the name of a people it occurs in Mālāka, Mālāda, Mālāja Māll, Māllaka, Mallava, Mālā, Malava, Malavart & C.; as the name of a demon in Malayaja (Rāhu) Malla (perhaps also is not

connected with mālā (garland), in Malyavan and Malini), & C; as the name of a human being in Malayakētu, Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapathi, Malayaprabha, Malayasimha, Malayagandhini, Malayavāsini, Mālavai & C; as the name of a country in Malaya, Malayadēsa, Mālavaka & C. As the name of mountain or mountain range in Malakūta, Malaya, Malayaparvata, Malabhūbhr̥it, Malayāchala, Malyādari, Malayavān, & C.; as the name of a river in Malavi & C; as the name of a town Malayapura, Mallapūr, Mallāpura, Mallavastu, Mallaprasthi & C; the name of the plant Malayaja, Malayandruma, Malayōdbhava (sandal), Mallaja (Cellaja, black pepper) & C.; Dr. Gustav Oppert derives the word 'Mālā' from a Dravidian root meaning a mountain which is represented by the Tamil 'malai', Telugu mālā; so that Mālā is the equivalent of Pariyan, and also of Mar or Mahar and the Mal of Western and Central Bengal. C.P. Brown derives the meaning of Mālā from 'maila' or dirty. There is a legendary account about this theory.⁹

The Mālās will not accept food or water prepared or touched by Kamsālīs or Goldsmiths, Mēdaras or Basket-Weavers, Mādigas or leather workers, Béri-Settis or Bóyas and Bhatrāzūś. The Mālās will not touch leather shoes, and if they are slippered with them a fine is inflicted and the money spent on drink.

Participation of Mālās in the Village Festivals

Even though, Mālās have been branded as untouchable since times immemorial, they have been entrusted with a role connected with the village festivals. Some sort of ritual participation and thereby ascribed to some sort of ritual status. In the annual festival of Péddamma and Chinnamma, female clay images are made for the occasion. A temporary hut is constructed by the Mālās with twigs of Margosa and Jambolana and Vitex Negundo. Two lambs are brought by the villagers which were sacrificed by the washerman. The heads are placed before the idol and water is poured on them, ask loudly 'paluku' or speak. If the heads open their mouths, it was considered auspicious.

In the next stage of the ceremony, two buffaloes are brought by the Mālās and Mādigas. One of the Mālās called Āsadi chants the praise of the goddess during the ceremony. The Mādigas cut the buffaloes one for Péddamma, the other for Chinnamma.¹⁰ In the buffalo sacrifice ceremony the mālās plays a very important role.

The cooked cholam blood refuge of the stomach animal sacrificed is mixed with margosa leaves is taken by the Āsadi who sprinkles around the images saying 'Kó bali' or accept sacrifice. The mixture is put in a basket and kept on

the head of a Mālā. Lamb is killed by a washerman and its blood allowed flow into the mixture.

The Mālā asks permission from the village officials sprinkle the cholam. The bowels of the lamb are taken out and tied round the waist of the Mālā who holds the basket, and puts it around his neck.

The Mālā with the basket sprinkles the mixture in the streets and boundaries of the village. He is encircled by large number of people with swords and cubs, to drive away evil sprits.

Chālavādi

Chalavādi is the bearer of news of the Mālās. He is treated to as much food and drink as he can take and also given presents when a marriage is celebrated. When the messenger goes he must carry with him dal, jaggery and sugarcandy.

The Mālā Dāsari

The Mālā Dāsaris are the 'gurus' (teachers) of the Mālās. There is a considerable number of Mālādāsaris in Andhra who obtain their living through religious mendicacy. Every Dāsari was given three or four villages as his

jurisdiction for his living. The insignia of Dāsaris consists of an iron staff, rāgichēmbu or copper pot, tiger skin, antelope skin etc. Some Dāsaris own inām or rent free lands, but majority of them live on the charity of the people. They do not ask for alms but only sing hymns in honour of chēnnudu or pēddamuni.¹¹

Māladāsaris officiate as a sort of priest and their services are required at the time of Nāmakarana or naming; Vivāha or marriage; Talaneelalu or tansuring and Dinakārya or death ceremonies. Young girls are dedicated to goddess for making Basivis the ceremony is officiated by Dāsaris. The Dāsari who officiates at a wedding ceremony cannot act in a 'Sraddha' or death ceremony. Sometimes, there will be sudden disturbances occurring on account of Saivaites objecting the entry of Vaishnavites into the street of the village. Such occasions Pavadamu¹² would take place.

It is firmly believed that if a Dāsari is offended, he will revenge himself, in smaller offences by piercing his cheeks or side, for a serious offence by killing himself generally by severing the head from the body. If one kills him in this way, the news is communicated immediately and miraculously. Until the arrival of the Dāsaris,¹³ the dead

body is kept covered in a new cloth, and water is constantly sprinkled over it to keep the wounds from drying up.

The Dāsari lits a sacred fire by the friction of two pieces of wood and kept in a ditch with sandal-wood fire. Dāsari makes a request dance, on a small metal 'chēmbu' or vessel betel leaves are arranged to make a lotus flower and kept in a plate along with the severed head, which is carried three times around the corpse.¹⁴

The head is taken by Dāsari and fixed properly to the trunk and the junction is plentifully daubed with 'tirumāni' or sacred earth.¹⁵ A new cloth is then spread over the corpse, and a net-work of flowers over all.

The Dāsari again walk around the corpse calling on Tembaru Manarā repeating at the same time a mantram. Then Kurumayya, the caste guru strikes the corpse from head to foot, three times with his staff, after which he places his foot on the head of the corpse and calls on the body to rise.

VĪRA VIDYĀVANTULU

Telugu country is very rich in folklore. Several forms of folklore are specialized by distinct groups of bards.

The heroic stories connected with the radical reformers of Palnāḍu are specially sung by separate people known as Vīravidyāvantulu. They are Telugu oral narrative singers.

Social status of Vīravidyāvantulu

Unlike any other bards of the Telugu country, the Vīravidyāvantulu of Palnāḍu belong to a low social group. They belong to the great untouchable community known as Mālās. The Vīravidyāvantulu claim the sole authority to sing Palanāṭi vīrula katha at festivals and private gatherings, such as weddings and death commemoration days. They got this right through the religious pontiff or Pīthādipati at kārēmpuḍi of Palnāḍu.

If viewed from a Telugu writer's literacy perspective, it is extraordinary that the keepers of Palnāḍu tradition are primarily Mālās. Written Telugu literature has been dominated by Brahmans. Brahmans would never condone the traditions generated by local events but they were preserved by local oral singers like Mālās.¹⁶

Though the Vīravidyāvantulu's authority is said to have come through the Pīthādipati at Kārēmpuḍi, they themselves suggest that the role of the Brahmans as head of the temple organisation and of the cult in one which they have granted

to him for practical purposes. The Pīthādipatis main function is to lend weight and respectability to the cult. The sole and real knowledge is however retained by the Viravidyāvantulu themselves.

Dāsaries¹⁷ and Pichikuntlu etc., for unlettered people such events are called "Jariginakathalu" in vernacular or "stories that happened". Other semi-itinerant singers of Telugu country are the Jamikilis¹⁸ of Srikakulam district. They follow a life-style and style of singing like those of the Dāsarulu of Guntur district.

Dress

Every group of people will be having their own type of dress to make them appear different from others. The Viravidyāvantulu are given a specific dress to wear when they perform the Palanāti Virula katha. According to the well established tradition, a Viravidyāvantulu should wear 'andekatti' (a safire with bells on the hilt) in his right hand, in his left hand a 'dālu' (a small round brass shield). On his right leg should be a jangling anklet. Twelve-cubit long turban with an ornament bearing crescent moon and an Ummetha Pūvu or Datura would be around his head. There must be a garland around his neck. His forehead and right side of the chest are marked with Tirumāni, the

upright red and white marks of Vishnu, the left side of his chest is covered with a red and white ash of seven cubits long, decorated with bells and beads, which hangs down up to his thigh. His lower white cotton garment tied with a special distinctive tie and knot known as 'Datti' (a long sword with sheath). All these items are required by the Viravidyāvantulu tradition. No singers would venture to sing and perform the Virulakatha. They claim that no one but a Viravidyāvantulu would dare to invest himself within a particular combination of attire.

Orchestra

The Viravidyāvantulu have special instruments, which constitute their orchestra. This is corroborated by the authority of Pīthādhīpati or the religious pontiff at Kārempuḍi. On the Viravidyāvantulu's right side is a man with a double-ended brass drums. There he beats on the right end with a short stick on the left end with his fingers. The drum is called "Pamba" and the set is known as Pambajōdu or a pair of Pambas. On the left side of the Viravidyāvantulu is a man who plays the "titti" or bellows. The 'titti' operates on the same principle or as a bagpipe serviving as drone by prcducing one continuous note. The third back-up man plays a finger symbols or 'Tālamu'. He also joins the drummers in making oral responses at

appropriate time in the performances by the Viravidyāvantulu who wear a special attire.

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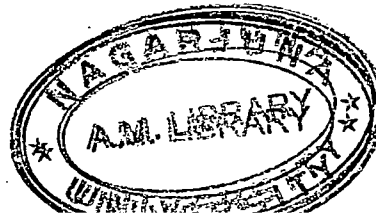
Religious Geography

Palanāṭi Vira charitra presents a well-defined religious geography. The political geography depicted in this tradition is limited to a specific political order, where as the religious geography is less firmly time bound. We don't deny the influence of political developments on religious institutions and its geography. Religious space, tend to have an existence of its own which is not totally dominated by the vicissitudes of politics.

Political geography of Palnāḍu presented in the Viracharitra is that of the 12th century, where as the religious geography is not restricted to that particular period. Eventhough, there is no corroborative evidence that major religious features present in the Viracharitra are incoherent with the twelfth century, they are also compitable with the current religious geography. The religious geography is not limited to a particular time factor.

Vijayapuri (Nāgārjuna kōṇḍa)

At the North-west corner of Palnāḍu, two great



monuments made of native stone. One of creamy greenish marble is the ancient Buddhist site called Nāgārjuna Kōṇḍa. It stands above, the valley and continuously occupied from the Stone Age to the present day. They are monuments of the forgotten past. During the period following the decline of Buddhism and before the rise of modern technology, other movements touched the people of Palnāḍu. Both the landscape and the social, economic and religious fabric of the area are vitally responsible for the birth of social change in the form of a great social reform in Palnāḍu.

Kārémpuḍi

In order to reconstruct the religious geography, it is essential to view it from Kārémpuḍi, a political centre in the Guntur District. We have at Kārémpuḍi the Vīrulaḡuḍi or the Temple of Heroes. There are other small shrines associated with the battle field of Kārémpuḍi. The heroes played an active role in the politics of the period in which they lived. Immediately after the battle of Kārémpuḍi, they were deified. The heroes were transformed as divinities at a place in Kārémpuḍi where the present temple is said to have constructed.

The Heroes

The Heroes are being worshipped in the temple as

SP "Lingams". The iconography of the Heroes is very interesting. The Heroes belong to the Vaishnava or Viravaishnava fraction of Brahmanism. How is it that are being worshipped in the form of Linga? Vaishnavism and Saivism are poles of a part by order and faith. The Heroes belonged to the Vaishnava faith. It is very interesting to note that they are being worshipped as lingams which is Saivite practice. Probably the Heroes were originally worshipped as Virgal or Hero-stones. Later the vertical poles or blocks of stone were rounded and smoothened which looked like lingams.

Aravaiāru Viranāyakulu (or) Sixty Six Heroes

The Hero cult is not confined to Palnāḍu alone. Due to its potential influence outside Palnāḍu several shrines were also established. Viravidyāvantulu outside Palnāḍu and other followers made it a living cult. Though several heroes participated in the battle and sacrificed their lives for the triumph and victory of their leaders, only sixty-six Heroes have been traditionally deified and worshipped today in the 'garbhamu' or sanctum sanctorium of the temple at Kārémpuḍi.

Seventy seven warriors

Apart from the sixty-six heroes others known as

"Débhaiéduguru Pótumannīlu" or seventy seven excellent trustees. They are always associated with sixty-six Heroes and they appear by themselves only in "The Birth of Bāludu", another set of deified warriors known as 'Débhaiéduguru pótumannīlu' or seventy seven trustees.

Hero worship

Heroes of battle who sacrificed their lives for a noble cause were worshipped in the form of stones, known as Vīrgal or Hero-stones. They were worshipped with devotion and vows were made in their honour. Such customs ultimately developed into a religious order Vīrācāra or the cult of Heroes. This cult was patronised by nobles and kings and followed by devotees. This cult of heroes seems to have come into existence towards the end of the Kākatīya rule, for a record of Śaka 1236 at Mācherla¹⁹ inscribed on a stone in front of three small temples dedicated probably to heroes, on the bank of the local stream Chandravanka, at the time of Kākatī Pratāparudra registers a grant of wetland as Sarvamānya to Vīrapurushulu or Heroes (for conducting worship) by the king's officer Dévari Nāyanimgāru. It appears that only during the period under review that the popularity of the hero-cult and hero-worship reached its climax.

During this age, the heroes of Palnāḍu²⁰ were much venerated and stories about them became very popular. A tower (mēda) called Nāyaḍumāṇḍapa, evidently dedicated to the heroes of Palnāḍu in the middle of the village of Kārēmpuḍi, was erected by a certain Jivaraksha Timmana.

Though stories illustrating the epic heroism of these chiefs were already current in the country during the latter Kākatīya period, and were narrated by Vīrakathakas on special occasions, dedicated to their honour. This was the period in which heroic ballads composed to preserve the memory of the departed heroes came into existence. This was the age which produced the now popular Telugu ballad, the Heroes of Palnāḍu. This Hero-worship or the cult of the heroes turned out to be one of the chief aspects of popular religion during this period.

Thus, the Mālās of Palnāḍu also known as Vīra-vidyāvanthulu, are different from those of other Mālās of different parts of Telugu speaking area. They have achieved their social status by conversion into Vaishnavism and fought against the then social evils. They have entered the temple of Chēnnakesava which was denied earlier.

REFERENCES

1. Note: Of the 59 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, the Mālās appear at No.35 Mālā, No.36 Māla Dāsari, No.37 Mālā Dasu, No.38 Mālā Hannai, No.39 Mālā Jangam, No.40 Mālā Masti. No.41 Mālā Sale or Nētakāni, No.42 Mālā Sanyāsi. These eight varieties of Mālās constitute the great untouchables, the prime victims of discrimination and suppression from times immemorial.
2. This type of division is not new to the Mālās alone. It was a custom to call people after the residential area Vāstavya or native. Brahmans were also known after their residential division, i.e. Palanāṭi, Vēlanāṭi, Āru-Vēlanāṭi, Kammanāṭi, Kāsalanāṭi, Telagānyulu etc. These are only the geographical divisions in which they were settled.
Somasekhara Sarma, M. History of the Redḍi Kingdoms, p.264.
3. Arava means out-side and also the name of a language. The meaning and origin of the divisions such as Sāvu or Sariṇḍla and Daiṇḍla have been lost in the passage of time. Legends have been woven around them to justify the origin. The Saiṇḍlas also known as Arava-Mālās are said to have come from the Tamil speaking area.
4. a) A Note: Concerning the origin of these divisions the following legend is current: "A Mālā married 18 wives, one from each Kula or Varna. Goddess Pōleramma in lieu of the sacrifices of goat and sheep, wanted women and from the Mālā. The Mālā child sacrifices disclosed this to his wives with great confidence. On hearing this they

were terrified and fled, knowing the strict mentality of their husband; who always lived for his word. One wife went to the Reddi-Bhūmi, the second to Pakaṇādu, the third saved her life by hiding. They were known as Daiṇḍlavāṇḍlu; concerning whom there is a proverb in Telugu. 'Dāgipōyina vāṇḍlu Daiṇḍlavāṇḍu' or those who have hidden are called Daiṇḍlavāru. One wife escaped to the forest by clearing the jungle. Her descendents are known as Sarīṇḍla or Straight.

The wife who consented to be sacrificed to Pōleramma along with her child was restored to life and gave rise to the Sāvu or Death sub-division.

b) Veērabāhu, the contractor of city burial-ground of Kāsi, promised goddess Kāli to sacrifice his three wives left, if she grants success to Harischandra. On hearing this, the three wives decided to run away. One wife went to Reddi-Bhūmi, another to Pakaṇādu and the third one prepared for the sacrifice in her murikibatta or dirty cloth. She was sacrificed. Kāli restored her life. As a sign of her disapproval against the two unfaithful co-wives, she began to wear her paita on the left shoulder. Thus came the kudī-edama paita division among the Mālās.

5. According to a tradition this right was granted to them by king Harischandra himself. All the burial grounds are supposed to belong to the Mālās, and the site of grave must be paid for. Though the Brahmins do not bury, yet they must pay a fee for the privilege of burning. The Mālās dig graves for all castes, which they bury, except Mohammadans, Oddes and Mādigas.

6. S.I.I. X, No.753.
7. S.I.I. IV, No.1384.
8. Katti s̄amu - Using feats of strength with sword.
Karra s̄amu - To practice gymnastics.
9. The Goddess Parvathi when on a journey with her Lord Parames̄warudu, kept one of her unclean (Maila) cloths under a S̄alamli tree or silk cotton tree and asked a dhobi to wash it, when the dhobi opened the knot of the cloth bundle to wash, he found a baby being born from it, he was known as Mālā or the unclean.
10. Buffalo sacrifice is done in two ways. One method is cutting the neck with one stroke or two or three as decided by the occasion. If the Mādiga fails to be head as per the number of strokes all the assembled people would beat him some time even to death. The second method is to cut the throats and separating the head later. This practice is prevalent in western Andhra, probably due to the Islamic influence, the way of Halāl. Cutting of a stroke was prevalent in south and coastal Andhra districts, which is a Hindu practice.
11. According to a tradition between 8th and 11th centuries A.D., there was a great rivalry between the Saivite and Vaishnavite sects, and it is supposed that Kūrmayya fighting on the side of the Vaishnavites, by the aid of god Chēnnudu was able to suppress and overcome followers of Siva. He thus became the guru of the Mālās.
12. A pretended immolation of a human victim who is afterwards resuscitated.

13. When the Dāsaries on their arrival to the spot show their magic power by frying fish, which come to life again on being placed in water, and by cutting limes in two and make them join together while the rest sing hymns to Chēnnadu and call on the name Góvinda.
14. By the wife if married, by the mother if not married, by the 'basavi', if he has no kin.
15. A kind of white clay used to making the sectarian marks, called locally 'Nāmasuddha'. It was originally sudda or white clay nāmam or the name of Vishnu is added to it because it is used only for this purpose.
16. From a Telugu Writer's Literary, it is extraordinary that the keepers of Palnāḍu tradition are primarily Mālās. Telugu literature has been dominated by Brahmans who are often versed in Sanskrit and Telugu but in the realm of oral literature, which is based upon events and traditions, indigenous to the Telugu country is the Mālās and Jangams who thoroughly dominated the literary field.
17. An example of singers of this type is a group called Dāsarulu. A full repertoire of this type was recorded in Visakhapatnam district. These particular Dāsarulu, the name came from the devotion to Vishnu are also Mālās. But they prefer to be as called Dāsarulu rather than Mālās. They are devotees of Varāhanarasimha, the preceding diety of the Simhachalam temple. These Dāsaralu reside in Kudulavada village during the agricultural season. During the off-season men and older boys go about as itinerant musicians. The Mālās,

who are Vaishnavites, as are the Vēlamas about whom they sing, might have a different story from the Saivite Pichaguntlu who sing chiefly for Reddis (another Sūdra caste of Telugu country).

18. The Jamikilis use an open-ended drum with a string attached to the underside of the head. This drum called "jamikili", gives its name to the group.
19. Epigraphical collection No.586 of 1909.
20. The rulers of Palnāḍu, namely Nalagāmarāju and his step brothers, sons of Anugumāṇḍalēśwara and their respective ministers, who fought a deadly battle amongst themselves for the sake of the kingdom were all extolled as heroes. These heroes of Palnāḍu, Palanāṭi Virulu, as they are popularly called, flourished in the middle of the 12th century. Nalagāmarāju, son of Anugumāṇḍalēśwara and Mailāla Dēvi is also known as Kāmarāja or Anugugāmarāju. He ruled from Śaka 1056 (1134 A.D.) to Śaka 1085 (1163 A.D.), the earliest and the latest dates of his records so far discovered. These inscriptions of Nalagāmarāju definitely settle the time of the heroes of Palnāḍu. A certain Anugumāṇḍalēśwara is mentioned in a record at Kārempuḍi, which states that a merchant built a temple for Virakōṭi in Śaka 1346, corresponding to the cyclic year Krōdhi (Ep. Coll. No.557 of 1909, Ep.Rep. 1909, Para 49, p.99). There was no chief by name Anugumāṇḍalēśwara ruling over Palnāḍu in Śaka 1346, as stated by the Government Epigraphist.

Chapter-IV

SOCIETY

The society as revealed through the study of the Palnāṭi Vira Charitra is a pyramidical one. Brahmans have been always reckoned with number one position in the society. After the Brahmans, the Kshatriyās stand second who are also known as Rājus. The Vaiśyas or trading community occupied the third rung and Śūdrās or the cultivators also known as Chaturtha Kulānvayās have been placed in the fourth position. At the lowest strata of the society, the Chandālas or the untouchable were accommodated.

According to tradition Brahmans¹ were considered as 'dvijās' or twice born and continued to remain as the custodians of learning and rituals.

Education and learning were under the control of the Brahmans² while the Kshatriyās or the ruling class looked after the protection of the country, waging wars and providing good administration to the subjects.³ The king was considered as the lord of the land or kshmapati or Lord of the earth, Bhūpati, Bhūpāla or administrator of the earth etc., for he acquired the territory with the valour of the strength of his shoulders.⁴ Kshatriyā is not a varna or

caste, but a status achieved by their valour and strength of the body. 'Brahma Khsātra tējōbhṛutam' indicated who are ruling class.⁵

Many ruling communities of South India never belonged to the so called Kshatriyā community. Therefore, Kshatriyāhood is only an achieved one, not attained by birth.⁶ One may be a Brahmin by birth, not by personal achievement. The ruling castes of the region under study belonged to the Śudrā community such as Vēlama, Reddi and Kāpu.

Apart from the above castes, we have the participation of Mālās, Gōsangis, Chēnchus and Pattudulu. Mālās and Gōsangis played a vital role in the military achievements of the rulers of Mācherla and Gurazala.

Brahmans by virtue of their ritual and social status enjoyed very good position in the society and polity. They enjoyed many privileges such as 'agrahārās' or separate residential status 'sarvakhara parihāra ksētras' or tax free agricultural lands and very many presents. They occupied the highest and key administrative posts in the Royal courts. They occupied the position of mantri or minister, sēnapati or commander-in-chief, purohita or chief priest of the city, danda nāyaka or chief justice etc.

Repetition
Brahmanas are divided into two main divisions viz., The vaidikis or the priestly class and the Niyogis or those who were employed in the administration. ~~Ultimately Brahmanas~~ enjoyed all sorts of positions and prerogatives. Brahmanas during the period under study in Palnādu continued to enjoy their position without any obstacle. Their chief duties were 'shatkarmas'⁷ or six duties. To conduct yajna, to manage yajna, to study véda and to teach véda, to make donations and to receive donations. 'Viprakāntalu' or Brahman women used to give hārati or burning of camphor in plates whenever Royal officials used to start for any auspicious tours or programmes.⁸

Brahmanas used to bless the rulers on such occasions.⁹

That serving Brahmanas with good faith and confidence would give knowledge was the strong belief among the people of the day.¹⁰ It is also believed by learned men that serving a guru or teacher was itself learning or education.¹¹ Students of Gurukula used to look after the cows of the teacher and collecting Darbha or sacred grass and firewood for the yajna was itself sufficient to propitiate their teacher. We have plenty of examples in the ancient classical literature in this regard.¹²

The society of Palnāḍu presented a very interesting social combination of people, particularly at Mācherla during the period of Brahmanāyudu who was a staunch supporter of Viravaishnavism.

He introduced equality of castes and finally experimented with an open buffet or a system of inter-caste social dining popularly known as Chāpakūdu or meals taken from a mat by one and all.¹³ An attempt was made to annihilate caste system during the period understudy in Palnāḍu. Brahmanāyudu may be reckoned as the first social reformer in Andhra who championed the cause of the untouchables. He tried to unite all untouchables under the fold of Viravaishnavism. The Chénnaśava cult, in fact, brought a radical change among the untouchables of Palnāḍu.

However, the attempt to combine the great untouchables Mālās and Gōsangis failed. Brahmanāyudu sent a word to the Gōsangis who left the battle field but twice they refused to come back. Brahmanāyudu came to know through the messengers that the Gōsangis were attending to a Gaddapātu.¹⁴ Brahmanāyudu got angry on hearing the news and declared that Mālās should maintain seven Paggams or a distance of 24 yards there after.

In fact, Brahmanāyudu being a social reformer and staunch Viravaishnavite could not have declared to maintain distance between two castes. The mālās were of a Virajīvanthulu or those who live on use of weapons and became a subjugated race were different from those of the Mādigas or Gōsangis. The Mādigas were tanners and butchers. There was no relationship between these two either of plate or bed; popularly known as kanchamu pōttu, manchamu pōttu, i.e. they have no relationship either ^{inter} at dining or ^{inter or marriage} sleeping.

Mr.E.H.Thurston rightly observes that between the Mālās and Mādigas there is no love lost, and the latter never allow the former, on the occasion of a festival to go in palanquins or ride on horse back.¹⁵ The Mālās will not touch leather shoes, and if they are slippered with them, a fine is inflicted by the Pēddamālā or Kulapēdda or the head of the mālā community and the tappu or fine money, so collected will be spent on community liquor.

Palnāti Vira Charitra mentions various tribes that participated in the political and socio-cultural life of the period.

Though Ātavikas or tribes live away from the purajanus or city people, at times of turbulence they used to come to

the rescue of civilians. Bóyas as a tribe had their settlements separately known as bóyakóttam. There were as many as 12 Bóyakóttams during the reign of Gunaga Vijayaditya, the famous Eastern Chālukyan king. They served as frontier gaurds from the earliest times. They grew in political power and united together to uproot the Eastern Chālukyan empire. But Pānduranga, the able general of Gunagavijayaditya suppressed the Bóya rebellion.¹⁶

Chénchus another tribe mostly living across the Nallamalai forests of Andhra Pradesh also contributed much to the political and cultural spheres of Andhra culture.

During the early centuries of the Christian era, Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri came to power by putting an end to the Andhra sātavāhana rule.¹⁷

Basavapurāṇam and Panditārādhyācharitra refer to various tribes of Andhra country. Chénchus are by matrimonial connections related to Vaishnavism. Chénchéta, the beautiful daughter (Lakshmi) was married to Narahari (Vishnu). As such, the Chénchus wear nāmam, the symbol of Vishnu. Chénchus having Vaishnavite connections joined Brahmanāyudu against Nāgama. We have references to the Chénchu tribes in the army of Brahmanāyudu. The Chénchus

were experts in archery and jungle fight. When the people of Nāgamma fell on the herds men of Brahmanāyudu suddenly the chēnchus killed them with their arrows by following their customary type of fighting under camflage and concealment.

Kuppékóallalu or bolt or pointless arrow, chikāṭi-minugurulu or pillet-bow, gigurugumdelu or large gum balls thrown across enemies to make them stick.¹⁸

Food and Drinks

The food habits of any people in a given area would always be determined by the nature of its environment, which produces the food crops. In fact, Geography plays a vital role in the survival of flora and fauna in a given area.

Palnāḍu is a dry region with full of stones and dry streams and seasonal rivers like Nāguléru and Chandravanka. Thorny bushes of several variety grow here by the scanty rainfall available in the region. One chāṭu verse ascribed to śrīnātha describes Palnāṭi villages with small stones, small worshipping Gods, waters of Nāguléru, Nāpa stones, Sajja or a kind grain and Jōnna or a variety of millet food, serpents and scorpions.

Palnāti Veera Charitra, however, provides with different types of food stuffs and condiments, pickles, legumes and rice. Mānchāla a good housewife of Bāludu prepares a good variety of foodstuffs to her husband. She made Pānakam or Jaggery juice, Junnu or cheese, Pachallu or pickles, and Néye or clarified butter. She prepared all of the finest foods. She used excellent fine rice, perfect legume. Vadiyālu, appālu, mīgāda pēruḡu or creamy curds, bobbatlu, arésalu, pūrnālu, gārélu, būrélu and the fine appaḡālu.

The people of Palnāḡu region were not rich, as the land was arid and less productive. The land was full of stones serpents and scorpions. That the food eaten by them was millet and sorghum is attested by a stray verse whose authorship is ascribed to poet Śrīnātha.¹⁹

Another stray verse reflects a common response at the mention of Palnāḡu.²⁰

Cooking in new pots for important persons was a custom prevalent even in royal houses. Mānchāla orders new cooking utensils to prepare food for her husband Bālachandruḡu.²¹ She made soup, curries, condiments, pickles, legumes and rice. She made pānakam, junnu or cheese and Néye or

clarified butter. She used excellent fine rice. Perfect legumes, dried prepared eggplants or vadiyamu.²¹

Appālu or sweet cakes, mīgada pēruḡu or creamy curds, bobbatlu, arisēlu or sweet cake made of rice flour fried in ghee, pūrnalu or a kind of round cake, gārēlu made of blackgram, būrēlu or a kind of sweet cake bun and fine appadālu or sort of thin cake which is fried. Political agreements were accompanied by stumptuous dinner, when both the parties agreed to a common point of settlements.²²

Leaf Plates

Food is served in plates made of earthen wear and metals such as brass, copper, silver and gold. Poor people always used inferior wear such as pots from the potter to prepare food. Mānchāla ordered new pots from the potter to prepare food when her husband Bālachāndrudu made his maiden visit.²³ By this, it is evident that pottery was in abundant use and even not discarded by rich people of Palnāḍu.

It is corroborated by the mention and use of leaf plates used in the banquet at the end of the political agreement between Malidēva Rāju of Gurazala and Brahmanāyudu of Mācherla. In the banquet no metal plates were used. The leaf plates may be of two kinds, i.e. the plantain leaves

and hand stiched vistarlu or plates made of the leaves of the adda plant.²⁴

Leaf plates are generally spread on a clean ground and the meals are served. In the banquet that was arranged at the consummation of the political agreement, meals were simply served in plates on the ground itself.²⁵ As a mark of bilateral relation both the parties on either side sat in a single line to eat. It is very surprising and noteworthy that all the opponents agreed to eat a common meal and to return to their native lands.

Sitting on the ground in a single line for meals represents equality of all the participants. A common meals also represents the feeling of a community. Serving in leaf plates would also give a feeling of freshness. In marriages, guests are fed on the floor in a line to avoid inequalities. This is called in Varnacular as Pamkti-bhójanamu or Bantikūdu. Round tables are used in the meetings of crucial importance to avoid the risk of great and small, high and low, rich and poor.

Kāli or fermented rice water was used for different food preparations. To keep cooked rice without decomposing for some time Kali is added while cooking rice. Kali water

is also made as chāru or soup by adding pepper and turmeric powder, chilli powder and salt with sufficient water. Kali pot is supposed to be an auspicious symbol in the house. New pot brought from the potter cleaned and smeared with turmeric and vermillion on Friday and a small amount of rice water is poured and kept in Northeastern corner of the kitchen. It is allowed to be fermented for a few days by making use of it when required. New rice water is added and kept away from the proximity of menstrual women. Madi²⁶ is being observed to touch it. Rice left in the night is kept in a pot, water and kali is added and served as breakfast of poor people. Particularly, those who go for field work carry with them the rice soaked in water and Kali known as Chaddikūdu to avoid thirsty. It is a good and healthy food of rural folk. It is said that if a man drinks Kali he would get manhood or virility.²⁷

Dress and Attire

Of the three important primary requirements food, shelter and clothing, the third one viz., clothing is very essential for mankind. One may wait for a few hours and days without food and one may live without shelter but one cannot live for a single minute without dress in a society.

Dress originally meant for the protection of human body from unfavourable environment. But in course of time, it became a part of life and culture. Every tribe, nation and group is known by the dress they wear. Dress, whether social, religious or cultural has a great significance.

Occasions and moods created different types of dress to wear. Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra provides a lot of information about the attire worn by different types of people for different occasions during the period under study in Palnāḍu.

Costumes

Of the many costumes that are worn by men and women in Andhra, the kóka and cheera are most dominant ones. Controversy hangs over the distinction of these two costumes for kóka and cheera are used as synonyms. Telugu literature under the period of study is teeming with innumerable references to these items. The term kóka is a telugu equivalent for cheera in sanskrit.

At present, kóka and cheera (saree) are used as synonyms for a long piece of cloth, bordered or unbordered, designed or undesigned with checks or no checks and other motifs. The sari is the equivalent word for kóka or cheera.

At present, the length of the saree is 6 metres and 1 metre in width. But earlier, these sarees measured in angulas (inches), adugus (feets), and gajas (yards). According to the age, occasion in which they were worn the sarees were designed to match or suit the situation cheera generally is a costume worn by women folk of South India.²⁸

Kōka and cheera are considered as one costume but in earliest times cheera was also worn by gents. Śrīmadāndhra Mahābharata which is the earliest literary work of Telugu literature refers to cheera as worn by Dharmarāja (Asvamedha parva 1.3). By this, it is evident that cheera was a common costume worn by women as well as men.

Kōka is also a common costume, which measured six metres in length and one meter in width, but made of fine fabric. This is used as pāga or head dress by men and a lower covering dress over a petticoat by women. By virtue of thinness and transparency, it was often used by women as veil, which is called in Telugu language as Mélimusugu. Wearing sari can be done in two ways, turning round the waist in one round and not less than seven folds with the help of four fingers length so as to look a cluster of folds and the remaining part of the sari is thrown over the left shoulder to cover the back. The other way of wearing a sari

is done in the same way but in anti-clockwise direction resulting in the spreading of the end of the sari over the right shoulder. The end of which is brought to the front of the waist and inserted the folds across the waist. This is known as kudipaṭṭa or right shoulder paṭṭa.

This type of wearing sari is not without social custom and sanction. The society is divided into two types of people, one is the right hand, another is left hand. The right hand people are superior to left hand people, they are equal to kudichēyi or yedamachēyi. They are also equivalent to 'Vēṅgalai' or 'tēṅgalai' of Tamilnadu. Thus, sari which is originally meant to cover the body from the environmental forces has become a tool of social norm.

Kanchukamu

The word Kanchuka occurs in Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra of Śrīnātha. In the Amarkōśa the meaning of Kanchuka is mentioned as an armour,³⁰ on the basis of its description in various literary works. Dr.V.S.Agharwal thinks that it was a long coat which come down to feet with full sleeves and its collar was closed in-front.³¹ The Kanchuka of the warrior, has been interpreted by Dr. Motichandra as the modern kurtā or the loose upper garment.³²

The Kanchuka of the Gupta period resembled as nighty, worn by modern women. It was a coat with full sleeves or half-sleeves and tightening the upper part, and loosening in the lower part and closed in front. The nighty is worn by only women these days, but in ancient times it can be worn by both men and women. The Kanchuka worn by women mostly come down to the feet, while that worn by men come down to a little above the knees. Numismatic evidence coming from the Gupta period would show the type of kanchukas worn by Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta and Kumara Devi.

In Palnāti Vira Charitra, Kanchuka is referred to as made of pattu.

"Kāsikhandamu" refers to "Jilugu Kanchuka" both the costumes worn by women only. By this, it is clear Kanchuka was essentially worn by ladies of luxury rather than of the common women. It was made of only superior cloth such as silk, imported from China or zari made out of golden threads. It was an unstitched garment which was tied around the waist. It was 4 to 6 feet in length and about 6 feet in width.³³

Tunic is the western style of dress. Wearing a tunic was considered essential. It is for this reason that no

image has been built without a tunic. The tunics worn by women standing near Kubéra, who is drinking wine in a sculpture of Madhura museum, are peculiar. The tunic in this scene is full-sleeved and comes down to a little above the knees. It is seen like a modern frock, i.e. it is tight up to the waist and below the waist, it has a wide circumference. Of these tunics the one worn by a woman has an embroidered design on one of the sleeves.

Decoration of Bride

Brides were made ready for their marriage ceremonies with all sorts of ornamental decorations. The "Kalyāṇasṇāna" or auspicious bath included the application of sandal paste, bathing pannir etc. Such details of bridal decoration on the eve of marriage ceremony is described. Sirā Dévi the new bride was prepared for her marriage by Péramtāndru or auspicious house wives.³⁴

One lady anointed her body with sampénganūne or oil of Sampénga flower, another lady rubbed her body with nalugupindi or a fine paste made of rice flour, turmeric powder and flour of greengram.³⁵ Bath was performed with panniru³⁶ or scented water while agarudhūpam or fragrant fumes were lit to dry up the wet hair.

Ornaments of a Bride

After 'mangalasnāna' or auspicious ceremonial bath combed head of the bride was decorated with 'tītaina rāgidi tirugudu puvvu' or ornaments made of gold in the shape of 'rāgidi' or a round ring studded with stones in two or three circles, tirugudu puvvu or ornament made of gold in the shape of sunflower. 'Kēmpula chandra vanka' or a crescent like ornament studded with kēmpu or ruby decorated on head. Ornaments worn on the head by women were of many kinds. Berucukka also called as paptabottu or a golden ornament with a long chain attached with a locket in front worn in centre of the head. It was the chief ornament worn by women during this period under study.

According to king Someswara it was a golden pearl ornament studded with precious stones. Śasi and Ravi which were worn on head are known today as Chandravanka and Rāgidi, resemble the crescent moon and sun respectively. The ornament Rāgidi or Ravi is bigger than Chandravanka or Śasi and was elaborately worked out with gems.

They are worn on either side of pāpata or the parting of the hair.³⁷ Pasidipōka or a golden ornament in the shape of betelnut. Pallērupuvvu or a nose jewel shaped like the caltrops blossom. Tammirēku or ear ornament, aparanji

kammalu or golden ear rings, bavilīlu, or a type of ear ornaments, kumtēllu or toe rings, kuppēlu or golden bells tied at the end of plait,³⁸ kutikamti or neck ornaments. The Kantikas were pearl ornaments worn by men and women equally composed of pearls of one, three, five or nine stings knit together like a band, Mēdanūlu or a pliable bar of gold bent round the neck was in use.

"Tinnaga kōppu samdhimdhiri chēlulu;
tīrainā rāgidi tirugudupuvvu
saurina kēmpula chandravamkayunu
papata bottununu pasiḍi pōkayunu
chūpula kimpaina sūsakambamara
Nilipi pallēru puvvu nēritammerirēku
Māvirekayu naparamji kammalunu
Bavilīl muntēmtlu bavirēlu kuppē
Kutikamtu mēdanūlu gumḍla pērulunu
Tagunanu paṭṭēḍa ḍaḍa sarigēlunu
Vēlalēni kaḍiyālu vimtaḍamḍlunu
Gamṭala mōlanūlu gajjolaḍḍiyalu
Jamṭa mroḡēḍu gilkusari maṭṭiyalunu
Mukkuku mukḱēra muttēpunattau."

-- P.V.C. p.56 Tex.Lines 448-461.

Gundipēru or a chain studded with balls of gold, nānupaṭṭēḍa or a neck ornament with pedent added at its centre, ḍaḍa sarigēlu or bent bars of gold worn around the hands above the elbow, kaḍiyālu or anklets, gamṭala mōlanūlu or girdle or ornament worn on the waist was generally made

of gold with bells. This was known as kaṭiśūtra or mōlanūlu or string on the waist.

Originally a cord of twisted or plaited cotton was worn round the waist by women. But in course of time this became a model for waist ornament. Mutyāla mōlanūlu or pearl waist ornament, ratnāla mōlanūlu or diamond waist ornament Gantāla mōlanūlu or waist ornament with jingle bells were also in use. Gojjalandiyalu or andēlu with jingle bells were also worn both by men and women during the period. The toes were adorned with rings of gold set with jewels, which were decorated beautifully in order to produce clinking sounds. These rings which women wear on their toes are called matṭēlu.³⁹

Vratha for male child

Women of Palnāḍu for getting putrasantānam or begetting male child used to observe a particular Nōmu or vow known as "Gajanimma nōmu".⁴⁰

During the period of observing the nōmu pratyēkamuga chirālu addimchi kāttukonduru⁴¹ or special printed saree were ordered to be prepared and were worn by women who wanted male children. There were a number of nōmus to obtain children observed by women during the period under

consideration. Dakṣina or presents to the priest at a sacrifice, tāmbūlamu⁴² or take an oath because such a ceremony is gone through when an oath or engagement is taken.

Now-a-days this custom is current in the marriage agreement by both the parties i.e. bride and bridegroom. Tāmbūlamichuta and Tāmbūlam putchukónuṭa. This is a mark of final agreement that marriage agreement should not be broken at any cost. Giving chūra⁴³ to kilns of potters and oil press was also considered a ceremonious deed during the period.

Performing the marriage of a poor Brahman was considered a meritorious deed. Conducting regular worship in desired temple, constructing inns or free feeding houses and water sheds on the highway at an interval of one āmaḍa of 6 k.ms. distance, and water sheds in the forest⁴⁴ was also considered meritorious. Raginirmitamaina or made out of ghāna kamandalamulu or heavy kamandala or copper kappera chayamu or a pair of light cloth, as presentation was also considered a great meritorious deed to be blessed with children.

There were several nómus or vows followed by the women of Palnāḍu. Giving garland of best pump-kins, climbing the

cliff or mountains with devotion, and lighting jagatjyóthi great lamp in the temple was also considered as acts of merit, followed strictly by women to beget children. A group of seven ladies formed into the shape of a bow to perform the ékavillu nómu or a bow-vow and ten women constituted to make the shape of another type of bow known as puchchavillu nómu or shape of a flower of a water melon creeper. A special type of kichidi known as pulagam was offered to nandi the vehicle of Siva for merit. Making gold and silver strings around the asvatha or the holy Fig tree, and planting holy fig trees or vatha pamktula nabhivrdhisési was considered a meritorious deed.

The vratas mentioned in the vratakalpa⁴⁵ were strictly followed by the women of Palnādu. "Oh! lady this vratas are in the Sāstras, (you) have to perform them through the year. This Vrata is very much liked by Vishnu. Chénnudu is Vishnu, therefore (you) should think everyday perform these scientifically by taking bath in a nadishnānamu or river".

Garland of Onion

Childbirth is naturally accompanied by milk in the mother's breast. But on very many occasions, the mother is not endowed with breast milk. On such occasions, cow or buffalo's milk or some other mother's milk is given to the

milkless baby. There is a different custom or practice prevalent in Palnāḍu. Mothers who have no milk in their breast to feed their babies used to prepare a garland of onion and kept on their neck. After doing this, if they pray their deity, they believe that breast will be filled with unexhausted source of milk. This incident is mentioned in the birth of Bāludu. Périnīḍu brought Bāludu and handed over to Gauramma his barren wife. She swoons for she has no milk in her breast and wanted to hand over the boy to some mother in the city who has milk in her breast. Périnīḍu tells his wife to follow what he says, so that she herself may be able to feed the boy with milk of her own breast.

However, he tells her to pray for Chénnakésava; apart from the prayer there is something in the onion garland for the production of milk in the barren women. Probably that is why there is a proverb in Telugu "Ulli chésina mélu tallaina chéyadu", i.e. even mother would not do help that much an onion does. Andhra women, those who do not have milk in their breast after child birth, eat papaya fruit or its curry for getting milk.

Omens

Practices of people of the period of study under consideration on belief and luck, were varied and legion.

Long list of apaśakunas or bad omens are mentioned. Before doing any act people of this period observed omens "śakunābalaṃ" or strength of the omens which are conducive to success are mentioned.

Bad omens are mentioned in Palnāti Vīra Charitra, while Narasinga Rāju was leaving the city on his way to the battle field, met a pot merchant with no pots on a shoulder pole and a cart. Howling of foxes was considered a bad sign.

Seven girls broke their pots by slip of a girls feet on stone. They cried loudly. This was considered a bad omen. Next they met a Saivite Priest.

Kōravi Gōparāju

Simhāsana Dvtrimsika I.I.V. 140, v.281.

Epigraphical report.

New pots and other things met on their way, are inauspicious,
throughout the Telugu country.

Promise to keep for 14 years

Promise is an oral condition not to be broken if once made. For people of Palnāḍu promise means life. People of Palnāḍu generally never promise. If they promise they will stick to it any cost. We have a promise mentioned in the

Palnāṭi Vira Charitra. When Kannama brings the rejected child in a box to keep him away, on the way in the forest it so happened that Périṇīḍu shows interest in the boy to take home. This was to be kept as a secret. A promise was made by Kannama that he should not reveal the secret to anybody. The period of time to maintain the secrecy is said seven plus seven years because it is made by man. The custom of keeping a promise among men in Palnāḍu is almost fourteen years.

Kaṭṭubōṭhulu or Vizards

Kaṭṭubōṭhulu or vizards of necro mancer who perform the miracles and evil black magic with his evil witchcraft. Vizards used to live in different villages doing all sorts of evil worship sacrificing animals and sometimes human beings to attain unlimited evil powers. Villages of China and Peda-arikatla are famous settlements of these vizards. Kamsāli or people belonging to goldsmith community were very experts in the art of Kaṭṭubadi or making stun or non-functioning of bodily activities.

With the help of black-magic or pūja performed to ksudradēvatas or baser deities, the kaṭṭubōtus who were invited to Palnāḍu particularly to Gurazala by Nāgamma declared their art of kāttu in different kinds.

"Vākattu"⁴⁶ marakattu⁴⁷ vanakēdukattu⁴⁸
potta pomgēdu kattu⁴⁹ pōmgulakattu⁵⁰
kutapēttēdukattu⁵¹ kōpimchukattu⁵²
emdi pōyidikattu⁵³ egirēdukattu⁵⁴
vidhibārēdukattu⁵⁵ bēgādēdukattu⁵⁶
Kāllanu chētelu kadalanikattu⁵⁷
Ekkasakkiyaskattu nēdchēdukattu⁵⁸
Prānamlu pōyēdi baluvaina kattu⁵⁹

-- P.V.C. p.124, Text Lines 1709-1716

Finally, the baluvaina or strong spell is cast on a person to kill him. The way the kattubōtulu employed their spell is not known. However, people got doubts about their powers. Nāgamma asked the kattubōtulu to prove their strength and genuineness of their magical spell.

Dayyāla Mallayya,⁶⁰ head of the vizards, spoke to her with pride that his previous important achievements were known to the public at Tsandolu, the capital city of the Telugu Chōdas, where he afflicted 300 people with a vasting disease with his spell. At Nellore, he told that he killed innuru or 200 people with a diagram or figure of a mystical nature 'Yamtramamdu ninnūta champi'.

Mantra and Yamtra

68 The Kattubótulu or vizards also knew the magic sciences of 'Mantra and Yamtra'. The vizards could blast even great mountains, stop the currents of stream, dry up even seas with their mantras.⁶¹

The kattubóthulus played a vital role at the royal cock fight by their art, which ultimately decided the fate of both the kingdoms. It has divided the strong kingdom of Nalagāma into that of Gurazala and Mācherla as their capital cities. For their act of kattubóthulu performance in the royal cock fight, they were given kānikas or presents.

It is evident by this, apart from common people who used to believe and practise the mamtra, tamtra and yamtra crafts for their personal benefits and sometime to cast evil on enemies. Rulers of great strength and power also used to employ the kattubóthulu to meet their both ends. This is very much corroborated by the references made to the kattubóthulu at Gurazala in Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra.

Gósangis

The Gósangis are the Mādigas. They have been mentioned as mighty warriors. They were among the mighty men of Palnāḍu. Their military organisation was known as Śambuni

Mutā or group of Siva. There were 24,000 Gósangi warriors. They weilded the double edged sword in the battle.

For fighting in the battle of Kārempuḍi on behalf of Brahmanāyudu and Bālachēndruḍu against Nalagāma and Nāyakurālu, the Gósangis refused to fight. It is said that there was no reason to wage a battle. They turned back from the battle field. Each man went to his own place. After they were gone, repeated messages were sent by Brahmanāyudu asking them to come back. But when the messengers came, the Gósangis said that they will not come as they were busy at Gaddapātu.

Gaddapātu

One day Brahmanāyudu called for the Mādigas to see him immediately. The messenger informed Brahmanāyudu that they would come after sometime for they were after "Gaddapātu" or when a dead cattle is spotted by vultures they make rounds in the sky. It is a sign of dead cattle in the jungle. Gósangis immediately proceed to the spot to collect meat. Brahmanāyudu got annoyed on hearing this and declared that the Mādigas be kept 7 paggams distance away. Since then the Mādigas were not allowed to come near the Mālās. Even today, this is practised throughout the Andhra country. The

Mālās live away from the Mādigas. Mādigas are not allowed to draw water from wells of the Mālās.

Mādigas not to attend

Brahmanāyudu made temple entry to all those who were not allowed earlier. After the Gaddapātu incident the Mādigas were not allowed to enter Ankamma temple and even the Virulagudi or the temple of Heroes. The Tappēta of the Mādigas was not allowed to be beaten at the virulagudi during the ceremony. It is said that the tappēta is half drum, and such half drum is not liked by Ankamma.

Mādigas to be kept away

Mālās and Mādigas are great untouchables of Andhra in general and Palnādu in particular and never lived together. Partly due to their professional differences, i.e. weaving and tanning respectively. Mālās were weavers of a coarse variety of cotton live though outside the sūdra settlements for they were labelled untouchables. Mādigas as professional shoe-makers and other kinds of work in leather, which were as intrinsically degrading occupation, for it involves the handling of dead animals. In fact, the animals that die in the village are pre-requisite of Mādigas. And it is supposed that when do not die fast enough, the Mādigas would poison them.

An un-doubted stigma⁶² on the Mādigas is the fact that they eat the bodies of beasts found dead. The Mālās shrink from this and from contact with those that do it.

Prior to the battle of Kārēmpuḍi, Brahmanāyūḍu brought these untouchables together into his Vīravaishnava fold and employed them in his army as soldiers. Of these two communities, the Mālās become much closer to Brahmanāyūḍu, who even adopted Kannamadāsu of the Mālā community as his eldest son. Bālachandruḍu also venerated Kannamadāsu as his eldest brother.

Pēnumālā Banda or Mediator Pillar

Every untouchable residential settlement was a forbidden area. The untouchables never used to enter into the village. Just as the untouchable were not allowed freely to come into savarna residential area, the untouchable settlement area was also not trodden by non-untouchable for the fear of pollution. The communications between the touchable and untouchables was not direct. It was forbidden by tradition, custom, convention and scripture.

However, rich or poor these two sections may have some sort of service oriented contact was inevitable. To work in

the field and to attend to the scavenging work in the Savarna locality, services of untouchables was unavoidable. Without being polluted, one has to procure the services of the untouchables. As direct oral communication was forbidden some sort of arrangement was made. This arrangement was conducted through 'Pénumāla Banda' or mediator stone placed in the boundary of the Savarnas and untouchables.

If a Savarna wanted to procure the service of labour who were mostly untouchables he would talk to the 'Pénumāla Banda' or Pénumāla stone pillar. The head of the Mālās was known as Pénumāla or Pédamāla would reply to the person addressing the stone and arrange the persons required for service. The Pénumāla Banda would act as a mediator and serve the purpose. Such Pénumāla Bandas are seen even today but not being used for that purpose. (Please see Photo No.

At Oppichérula, near Kārémpuḍi and Kóllipara near Tenali of Guntur district, Pénumāla Bandas have been located. Such mediator stones are very common in the area. Due to the non-implementation of such methods now a days, the purpose, utility and significance of these monuments which acted and served as social messengers between the savarnas and avarnas

or touchables and untouchables in the hoary past are forgotten.

Dias of Mālās

There is a Vēdikā or raised dias of the Heroes of Palnāḍu, in front of the Ankalamma temple at Kārēmpuḍi. This dias was constructed of local stone, with 28 feet long 20 feet width and 4 feet high. (Photo No.). This platform is exclusively meant for the vīravidyāvantulu who used to assemble at frequent intervals to discuss issues pertaining to the religious, military and cultural affairs and programmes of their organisation.

No other community including the Pīthadipathi who is a brahmin has no right to sit on this dias. No where in any part of Andhra country, such a position had been enjoyed by untouchables. Only in Palnāḍu during the life time of Brahmanāyudu the politico religious social engineer, this happened. Untouchables particularly the Mālās, who in the course of time closely associated with Brahmanāyudu and his reforms began to appear in the main stream of the social life, for which they have hitherto deprived of:

Vīdupattu or Vīdidi-house

There were magnificent guest houses in Palnāḍu.

References to secular architecture is a rare occurrence in ancient and medieval Indian History. Non-mention of such civil architecture however doesn't suggest the Non-existence of secular buildings. Vāstu or engineering was believed by Indians. Griha vāstu or the rules and regulations for the construction of residential houses was very much in vogue. We have a fine and concrete evidence to show that people in Palnāḍu were practising the rules of Vāstu for the construction of various secular and religious buildings. Vīdupattu or rest houses were constructed following the stipulated rule of Vāstu sāstra. Palnāti Vira Charitra mentions the details of a guest house complex.⁶³

"In order to keep the gathering that come for the cock-fight, Guest or rest houses were constructed, leaving large space for Pandals, yellow leaves (dried leaves) were placed on the Pandals and fencing around the pandal was constructed for getting cool shade and comfort for guests. South-East (Āgnēya) corner of the guest house, kitchens were constructed and in the South store houses or Bandāra Mindulu. On the outside extensive and beautiful street corridor or Veedisāvadi was constructed for taking rest. The corridors were decorated with chalk drawings of fine quality".

Stadium and Gallery

For the performance of cock fight at Gurazala between Nāgamma and Brahmanāyudu garidi or arena or stadium and tamakamu or gallery were constructed. Under the supervision of Nāgamma, the Prime Minister of Nalagāma it was executed. An experienced carpenter Oju⁶⁴ was commissioned for this purpose. The details of the construction are as under.⁶⁵ From any angle, the arena looked with 56 auspicious beautiful sculptured pillars. The pillars were pasted with ingilikam or vermilion. Twenty long bars placed on the 56 pillars at a considerable height to serve as a high roof. The roof was made with chunnam or mortar. To ensure strength, sixty four pillars were kept on the roof and long pieces of timber to make it a 'antaramu' a secret place of hiding or a square compartment. On this, another storey was constructed with the help of thirty two pillars. This was divided into four houses. On each house, five golden vessels were kept.

The central hall 'Nadimiyantaramu' or the central hall was again divided into eight portions and their centre place was uncovered for cooling 'Vénnéla Bayalu' or open moonlight place. Around this beautiful network or jālarlu on the background at rēndu niluvula or two men height beautiful stories from Ramayana were depicted.

In each house, there was a pattēmanchamu or a cot the bottom of which is woven with broad tape, with a 'Parupu' spreading mattress and 'Manchi talagadalu' good or soft pilloes were placed. In order to reduce the heat produced by the burning of ten kinds of incense, 'atakamdiam taramu' or ventilators chitravannēla pattuchīralu or multicoloured silk sarees were hung to make mēlukattu or canopy of such a magnificent, beautiful edifice would certainly become the victim of drus̥ti or evil eye. Tamakulache drus̥ti tagalakayunda or to avoid the sight of erroneous people, kambalichīralu, ganisēna kattu or pieces of black sarees or cloth tied around. In the arena jamkhana or carpet was spread. At one end 'gaddiya' or multicoloured seat studded with diamonds was arranged.

In the vara or circular stadium seats were arranged caste-wise. 'Vipra, Kshatriya, Varulunu Vaiśya, Śūdrulu Kūrchunda or Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras were seated respectively. Ukku kambamulu⁶⁶ or strong pillars were posted around the arena. Āchuttu tamkambu tāyatta parachi or around them a summer house, having no walls but roof on pillars was constructed. 'Jatanambu'⁶⁷ was done at the completion of the Garidi complex.⁶⁸

There were gymnasiums which were called garidis or garidiśālas where wrestling, duel and sword fight were regularly practised, both in the early hours of the day and evening. The Garidi constructed by the carpenter at the instance of Nāgamma may be identified with the two mounds of stones found between Gurazala and Mācherla near the railway line.

Cock fight

Palnāḍu a land of heroes was very famous for sports and games. Apart from wrestling, duels etc., there were bull fights, ram-fights, he-buffaloe fights and cock fights.⁶⁹ Animal fight and their victory and defeat always created problems of great social and political importance. These games and sports were the product of rich cultural heritage.

These were good when medeled with peaceful spirit of accommodation, but gave birth to conflicts and hatred among them creating water tight compartments as has happened in the Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra episode of cock-fight. The ballad of the Palnāṭi heroes gives a lively description of cock-fighting as practised in medieval Andhra. Cock-fighting was one of the main reasons for the annihilation of the ékāṅga heroes of Palnāḍu. According to Indian tradition, a ruling king maintained Chaturangabala or infantry, elephantry,

chariotry and cavelry. Apart from this, kings used to maintain personnel warriors known as the lénkās when both the armies are exhausted in fight when there arouse a tie for victory. The kings used to send their lénkā to fight face to face personally. The victory and defeat will be declared in the battlefield with the death of any one lénkā. During the period under study in Palnāḍu, the lénkās are ekāṅga veera's replaced by cock's. A cock represented a king. Instead of lénkās participating in the final fight cock's or ram's were kept in the arena for fight. The fight of a cock or ram finally decided the victory or defeat of kings and kingdoms. The defeated ruler used to surrender his kingdom, give his daughter in marriage to victor. This is evident from the famous cock-fight conducted by the rulers of Gurazala and Mācherla.

Tribute to the victor

In any battle, the victor would have his upper hand. He is the gainer by all means. In the battle of Arangandla, Brahmanāyudu was victorious with the help of Kannama his adopted son who belonged to the Mālā community. He won the battle. Brahmanāyudu decided the amount of tribute to be paid by the defeated soldiers. He has taken into account the type of arm that one used in the battle for fixing the amount of tribute.

- 20 varāhās - for every man who wields a spear
- 12 Varāhās - for every man who wields a dagger
- 3 Varāhās - for every man who carries a gun

Gun or Tupāki was not in use during the period and also in the area under study. However, this is mentioned twice in the epic. This was due to the fact that the singers knew the use of guns through several incidents. Therefore, the word tupāki has not been taken into account in the present study.

Mutā System in Army

The army in Palnāḍu during the period under study was divided into various divisions known as Mutās. Mutā in vernacular means group of people. Every mutā has its own special arms. The Simbuni Mutā wielded the double-edged sword. This mutā was exclusively of Mādiga or Gósangi community. Bobbili Mutā wielded Dodda kattī or the great sword.

Pearl Necklace

In lieu of varāhās, pearl necklace was also accepted as tribute by Brahmanāyudu from his captives. It is mentioned that the ruler of Akalāṅkāpuri was a man of many soldiers and much wealth. But he had no money with him. He did have

a pearl necklace in his possession which, he gave to Brahmanāyudu and gained his freedom. By this, it is evident that ornaments such as pearl necklaces were also accepted in lieu of varāhās.

Vidukōlu Vāyidyamulu (or) Farewell Band

Different types of musical instruments were played during the period under study. Palnāti Vīra Charitra contains several references to a different musical band known as Vidukōlu vāyidyamulu or Farewell musical instruments consisting of Bhēri or Damaruka and Pēddabūra or big pipe. This music was however not happy in tone but consisted of sorrowful one which is indicated by the term 'Bhōruna Vāyimchi'.⁷⁰ When Anugurāju planned to go on pilgrimage and to take samudrasnāna or sea bath at Mōṭupalli near Chīrala, leaving his kingdom all people requested him not to leave them. When Anugurāju decided to go, all people followed him to a distance to give him a farewell with a sorrowful musical band. The music of the band sounded rana rana and dhana dhana.⁷¹

Crime and Punishment

For a smooth running and safety of people in a given society rules and regulations are to be followed strictly by all members. Indian society is caste and birth based one.

The higher the caste, the lesser the punishment, the lower the caste, the greater the punishment. Brahmans being twice born or Dvijas were almost exempted from punishments even for crimes like rape and murder.

But there came a change in the pattern of awarding punishment and pronouncing of justice during the early medieval period onwards. Brahmans were not exempted. Śrīnāḍha, the poet laureat and the supposed author of "Palanāṭi Vira Charitra" was given public punishment for not able to repay 700 ṭankas of money which has borrowed for agricultural purpose. Split bamboos were kept around his neck, and both the hands were tied to the back. Heavy stones were tied to the feet and kept under the hot sun in the centre of cross roads (Please see the sketch page No.).

We have tangible evidence (Photo No.7) in the form of a punishment stone situated in the compound of the temple of Heroes at Kārémpuḍi. Criminals who have committed unpardonable crimes were given death sentences by be heading. Such persons were brought to the be heading stone. Hands and legs of the criminal were tied tight by the Talāri or the executioner and kept on the high stone in such a manner, his neck may be kept on the "V" shaped groove. Then, a pole is inserted through the holes so as to pass over the

neck of the criminal. When rest assured that all arrangements are made correct, the head was served by a stroke of a sharp sword.

Thus punishments were executed on criminals. Caste and birth ceased to function in the court and a rule of law was in force during the period under consideration. This is attested by the evidence the be heading stone at Kārémpuḍi in Palnāḍu taluk of present Guntur district.

Sānis or Courtesans

The cultural history of a society would be incomplete without the mention of the contribution made by those women who have provided entertainment to the society. Such women existed throughout the world. The society that existed in Palnāḍu also had the institution of Sānis. The Sānis had a great hoary past and influenced the politics of the day. Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra mentions Sānis having connections with the rulers. Sāni Sabbama was the courtesan of Bāla-chandruḍu. The arts, crafts, skills and plots of the Sānis and their part played in the politics and administration of Palnāḍu are mentioned in the Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra.

The institution of prostitution is as old as the institution of marriage. The institution of prostitution

enjoyed much popularity in the medieval society, and well-to-do people used to maintain relations with this community of Ganikas. it was not deemed dishonourable to have in these days a courtesan as ones mistress besides one's 'lawful wife'.⁷² Shrewd; talented and wealthy courtesans who were mistresses of kings and nobles, exercised much influence in the society and were held in high esteem.

Sānis from Inscriptions

Inscriptions of the Chālūkyas of Vēngi refer to the community of courtesans. Challava was a courtesan of Chālūkyā Bhima I. She was a songstress of a high order and rare excellence, "Samsta gandhrya vidyāvēdini" or "one who knows the whole science and art of music". Mallapa, her father was a great artist and had been compared to the celestial, musician, Tumbura Tanduka, mother of Mallapa was a lady of great beauty and charm and compared tho that of an apsara or celestial lady. Challava's talent in music and dance was appreciated by Chālūkyā Bhima I. As a mark of appreciation of her great accomplishments as a musician and a female dancer, the king was pleased to grant her two plots of land, one garden of a thousand areconut trees and a paddy growing land of fifty puttis along with house-site.⁷³ The granting of a house-site which show that Challava could have been brought from a different place and ask to settle down

at Attili in the West Godavari District. Chālukya Bhima I was a lover of music, dancing and poetry and was himself a master of those arts. "Kavi gāyaka kalpataru" preceptor of the poets and singers.⁷⁴

Chēmakāmba who claims to be a ganika or courtesan was a favourite mistress of Ammarāja II. She belongs to the Pattavardhani family. Pattavardhanikas came from Western Andhra along with Kubjavishnuvardhana, the founder of Chālukya line of Vēngi. Challava the courtesan of Chālukya Bhima I, Nāgipōti, her foster-mother and her grandson general Māhā kāla also belong to the illustrious Pattivardhani family.⁷⁵

Chēmkāmba was a srāvaki or Jaina lay disciple of Arhanandi of Valaharigana of the venarable Addankigachcha, of the Jainabhavana at Attili, in the West Godavari district. She was a charitable lady. She requested Ammarāja II to donate the village of Kaluchumbaru⁷⁶ in Attilinādu viṣaya, identical with Kanchumarru village, in the West Godavary with exemption of all taxes to her guru Arhanandi for the purpose of constructing a fresh temple of Lord Jaina, for providing, for the maintenance, and for repairs to charitable dining hall attached to the jaina temple called Sarvalokāśrāya-Jinabhavana.

Male members of the Pattavardhani family

It is very interesting to note that members of the Pattavardhani family were given highest position of Yuvarāja even. One Ballaladēva Velabhata Bōḍḍiya, son of lady Pammava of the pattavardhani family was nominated by Ammarāja II as Yuvarāja.⁷⁷ This is a rare and unique honour for a favourite to be the Yuvarāja of a kingdom. The social status enjoyed by male members of this family as generals, officers, the female as mistress to the kings. This shows their status enjoyed in the royal court on the one hand and in the society on the other. Panduranga, commander-in-chief. Prime Minister of Vēngi, served Gunagavijayaditya.⁷⁸ Durgarāja was a minister and katakādhisa or the officer in command of the capital of the kingdom.

He was a powerful vassal of Ammarāja II and a descendent of Panduranga.⁷⁹ He had the honour of being attended upon all ceremonies and public functions by the five great sounds and held the title Mahāsāmantha or the great feudatory. He was a Jain by faith and secured the grant of the village of Mailayampūṇḍi⁸⁰ in Karmarāstra Visaya as dēvabhōga to the Katakābharana Jainālaya at Dharmavaram. Panduranga's son Niravadya also held the hereditary office of Katakarāja of Cālukya Bhima I.⁸¹ Mahākāla, general of Chālukya Bhima I⁸² was the Commander-

in-chief. He was the son of Gamakāmba, the foster-sister of the king, who was the Ambikā. Chālukya Bhima I shared alongwith this lady Gamakāmba, the milk of her mother Nāgipóti in his infancy. Nāgipóti is described as the second earth (mother). Mahākāla got the village of Drujjūru to the Pannātavādi-Visaya corresponding to the Nandigāma taluk of the Krishna district from Ammarāja I as mānya⁸³ or a glebe-land granted by a ruler on quit rent or on various favourable tenures.

Bhandanāditya alias Kuntañāditya, grandson of Somāditya, was a Commander-in-chief of Kóllabhoganda Vijayāditya, who belonged to the Pattavardhani family. As a reward for his military services he received Guntur-12 villages.⁸⁴ Thus, the male members of the Pattavardhani family were either generals or ministers of feudatory chieftains.

The Social status of Sanis

Divergent views have been held by scholars regarding the caste of the Pattavardhanika. Since they used to receive mānyas but not agrahāras and their gótras and śakhas are not mentioned while mentioning their pedigree it may be presumed that they were not Brahmans as held by Sri Ch. Veerabhadra Rao⁸⁵ and Dr.N.Venkataramanayya.⁸⁶ However, Sri

B.V. Krishna Rao treats the pattavardhanikas as kshatriyas⁸⁷ at one place and Sūdras⁸⁸ at another place. The Pattavardhanikas were of a Ganika or dancing girl community which comes under the Sūdra caste of the four-fold caste system.

Residential area of Sānis

Vāda is a residential quarter in the medieval Andhra village. Each vāda denotes a particular profession or vocation. Lanjiyavāda was a residential area where prostitutes lived. The Mangallu grant of Dānārnava refers to Lanjiyavāda. Sīma as one of the boundaries for village of Mangallu⁸⁹ in Natavādi-Visaya corresponding to the Nandigama taluk of the Krishna District. As the other boundaries mentioned indicate fields, it may be presumed that the Lanjiyavāda was located at the southern side of the village of Mangallu. Sūdra quarters must have been on the southern side of an agrahāra, the residential area of Brahmins.

Position of Ganikas

Ganika community enjoyed a privileged position in the medieval Andhra society. Ganikas have got entry of the Hindu temple as well as the Jain temples. As dancing girls of sacred prostitutes they are called as Nityasumangali, or the one that does not become a widow in her life-time. The sakuna or coming of a ganika is considered auspicious. For

all auspicious ceremonies they are invited. Tāli or Mangalāsūtra is allowed to be touched by a Ganika before tying. No ceremony in the temple or royal court escaped the presence of Ganikas. Jains who also maintained caste system like Hindus, it seems, allowed Ganikas into their temples. Ladies of the Pattavardhini family were Jains by faith⁹⁰ and patronage, who had lavishly given donations through the favour of their over-lords.⁹¹ The profession of prostitutes became not only sanctioned by tradition as an age long custom but also became very popular. Their inevitable presence in the Royal court almost became a status symbol.

Ganikas were not merely women of physical beauty, but they were highly cultured and well educated in many arts. They were the custodians of art, especially of music and dance. They learnt these arts from teachers and acquired high proficiency in them. They had observed all the rules of hygiene to keep their body clean and attractive. They were also experts in making designs of dress and originators of new fashions.

Daśa Kumāra Charitra of Dandin gives a graphic account of the office of the courtesan and the duties prescribed as, "This is special office of the mother of courtesan viz., to cultivate the beauty of the person of her daughter from the

very birth; to nurture the body of her daughter from the very birth; nurture the body of her daughter by means of congenial diet, that will help the development of lustre, strength, complexion and intelligence and will keep the humours, the gastric fire and the vital fluids in harmony; from her fifth year not to expose her very much to the view even to their father. On her birthday and on other auspicious days, to perform the auspicious rituals marked with great festivities; to train her in the erotic science.

In all its branches, to carefully initiate her in the arts of dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, acting, painting, as well as in the confectionary in the art of preparing perfumes, wreathing flowers and also in reading, writing and expressing herself with elegance and wit; to teach her the simple outlines of grammar, logic and astrology. She has to make her adept in the art of gaining a livelihood, in sportive graces, and in games of chance and strife; (the daughter) also receives practical instruction with great pains, at the hands of confidential persons, in the secrets of the sexual sciences. She had to appear carefully decorated and attend, at public festivals; she has to attain perfection in the art of singing as would suit particular occasions, at the hands of experts previously engaged. She has to be advertised to experts in various arts

in different places. She must be proclaimed through palmists and astrologers as being endowed with all auspicious marks with the help of parasites, gay companions, jesters and the Buddhistic nuns. She has to get her beauty, behaviour, accomplishments, charms and amicableness discussed in the circles of the town people.

When she becomes the constant object of the desire of young men, then to set a very high price on her hand; or to give her away to one who is independent (i.e. the master of his own affairs) and of his own accord is either very powerful, affected by love for her or whose passion is furiously excited and the sight of her coquettish actions, and who is endowed with high birth, beauty, young, powerful to give riches, honesty, munificence, skill, politeness (knowledge of) the arts, good disposition and affability; or to deliver her over to one who is not independent but possesses superior qualities and is extremely intelligent, even for a small sum, giving out in public that much was received, and to extort money from the elders of such by bringing about a connection with him by the Gandharva marriage, and if no money comes in, to gain the object in the local court by winning over by firendship with the king.

When one is attached ot her, to make the daughter observe the vow of chastity towards him. It is also her duty to

appropriate by various artifices what remains of the wealth of lovers after it has been expended by daily, occasional and love gifts; to reject one who, through almost seduced, does not give anything, by picking a quarrel with him, to stimulate the liberality of one, who, being attracted is deep in love by inciting him through a deputy; to get rid of one who is without money by means of sarcastic remarks, by reviling him in public, by keeping her daughter off from him and thus inspiring him with shame or by accepting another lover for her, and by insults; and often to untie her with rich persons, capable of giving much money, who are able to remove all difficulties and who are unobjectionable after duly considering all doubts about the advantages and disadvantages. A mere attendance upon a lover, and not real attachment to him is the duty of a courtesan and even when she really loves him, she must not disobey her mother or grandmother.⁹²

The part played by Sānis in the politics and cultural life of Palnāḍu as reflected in the Palnāṭi Vīra Charitra is very much remarkable. Thus, it is clear by the above epigraphical and literary evidences that the life of these courtesans, Sānis, Ganikas, dēvadāsis or temple girls enjoyed very good social and ritual status. These women were not even hated by the wives of those men who had

affairs with them. Affair with a women of the above categories was not considered shameful. Moreover, the society accepted the institution of these women who served the temple, the court and the aristocrates in extramarital activities. The medieval society could tolerate and digest the affairs what we call today the anti-social activities.

Aranamu

Married women were given several gifts and personal effects, when they go to their mother-in-law's house. All these household things are known as "Sāré" or bridal gift given by her parents. In addition to "Sāré", cows and maid and men-servants are also sent along with the bride. This custom was prevalent in Palnāḍu. It was also known as Pasupu Kunkālu or Tumeric and Vermilion, the symbols of Punyastrī-hood or happy married status of a house, ^{wife or} illālu or wife. Kings used to give lands and divisions of their kingdoms as aranam to their daughters. King Prithviswara of Chandolu gave away Palnāḍu as Pasupu to his daughter Mailama, who married Anugurāju, who defeated him in a battle.

"Ninnedirinchaga nēnēmta vāḍa
nīpōmdukōruchu nēnita niluva
paganu sādhimchaga padiye chēpūmā
paḍati mailammanu paripayammāḍi
na kōrke mannimchu naranāḍha nīvu"

avini anugurāja to sammatimcha
chamdavōlu prithvisvarumdu
chinnakūturu pemdli chēsenāvéla;
pempāra putriki prithviswarumdu
impāra pasupunakichché palnādu.

-- P.V.C., p.29 Tex. Lines 585-595.

Brahmana asked Siradēvi to bring Gōlla-bamtlu⁹³ or Gōlla servants along with cows as Aranamu. Vīrasomu, father of Siradēvi, the bride orders his son Kommarāju to inform Siradēvi to come to her father.

When arrived Vīrasomudu asked her daughter to ask all those, she wanted to take along with her to her father-in-law's house as aranamu.⁹⁴ Siradevi asked her father, keeping in mind the demands of Brahmanāyudu, the items she wanted to take long with her as aranamu. She wanted sons of Gumḍubōya, Rāyabōya, Rāyapaḍālu, and his brother Bālagōpanna who can look after one thousand cows and one thousand sheep, as aranamu.⁹⁵

It is evident by the above information that aranamu or Pasupu Kumkālu were to be given to a daughter on the eve of her departure to her father-in-law's house. In this, the in-law's demands or requirements were also taken into consideration as happened in the case of Brahmanāyudu's indent to bring Gōlla servants along with cows. Apart from

cows, lands, kingdoms were also given as pasupu as is evident from the reference to Prithviswara giving Palnāḍu to his youngest daughter Mailama.

Sati

Sati also known as Sahagamana, Anugamana was a custom prevalent in Palnāḍu. This is mentioned in Palanāṭi Vira charitra and later works such Rukmāṅgada charitra, Kāsikhandam, Sahagamana or following one's own husband to the other world by immolating oneself on his funeral pyre. It is said that she who jumps into fire gladly without any fear or timidity, acquires as much phala or benefit as one would get by the performance of an Asvamedhayāga, that is, the horse sacrifice. The exuberant praise, lavished on this custom in the Telugu works referred to above, and the enumeration of different kinds of merit, which a married woman would reap by performing this rite, suggest that there was a conscious effort to popularise this custom.

It seems probable that the Muslim invasions were to some extent, indirectly responsible in inducing the leaders of the Hindu society to mobilise opinion to enforce this custom, if it was already in vogue. The atmosphere, which was surcharged with the spirit of self-sacrifice and the social and political conditions then prevailing, added strength to this custom.

Friar Odoric⁹⁶ writes "when a man dies, they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But, if the woman have sons by her husband, she may abide with them, as she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there is no law of impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife". Friar Jordanus⁹⁷ writes: "In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance, their bodies are burned, and make their wives follow them alive to the fire, and for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded, and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead".

One who committed Sati was revered as Pérantālu or Mahāsati and occasionally her image will be carved in stone and worshipped. All the war-widows of Palnādu committed Sati with pomp, setting an example of Sādhvi or virtuous wife by consigning themselves to the funeral pyres.

Christianity and Western Education

Scheduled Caste Mālās particularly the right hand untouchables of the Andhra Pradesh were the most victims for a long time. They suffered and endured all insults from the upper castes. Being skillful weavers they were self employed for nearly nine months in a year, the remaining three months they took to agricultural labour and works. A Mālā can marry as many as 18 times, without a wife he cannot participate in any affairs of the village.

The The Missionaries who have reached (by) east-coast as early as A.D. 16th century, established schools both in English and vernacular and admitted the Scheduled Castes into the institution, provided free education and boarding as a mark of gratitude. The Scheduled Caste people embraced Christianity and those whoever converted began to feel high among themselves over the rest of the native untouchables. The newly converted untouchable christian used to be called by fellow men as Anyulu or non-believers. The converts never accept any fruits/sweets or any other offerings from the sacrifices made by the caste Hindus or fellow untouchables. They began to educate their children and used to send to the church for Sunday prayers with a copy of vernacular Bible and a book of Christian songs. More and *68* more people embraced christianity for two reasons, the first

reason is that they are treated by caste Hindus very lowly and they were not allowed to enter the temple or not allowed to take the profession they like, secondly there was no such a discrimination if they embrace Christianity, ^{More over} wheat, sugar, bread, biscuits, clothing, milk powder, etc., are given to them free of cost by the Missionaries. Thus, Christianity could attract many untouchables into their fold.

Resistance from the Dāsaries

While Brahmins and other upper caste people embraced Christianity, there was no resistance from any corner of their community. It is very interesting to note that the Māla Dāsaries, the priests of the right hand untouchables, gave a stubborn resistance for the christian conversions. Fathers, priests and catakiests came to the Mālā settlements to preach about Christianity and tried to baptise them. The Dāsaries objected it and fought against the propagation of Christianity among the untouchables. There were many incidents in Andhra which culminated in the murder of christian fathers. Thus we see the resistance for religious conversions from the priests of the Mālās.

Influence of Christian Missionaries

Eversince the coming of British into India, coastal

tracts of Andhra Pradesh enjoyed the services of the British both evangelical and educational, people belonging to Scheduled Caste communities were taken on first priority into the Churches and Schools. Western education and teaching of Bible made Scheduled Caste people some sort of self-reliant in many respects. Christianity made them to live clean and neat and put them into regular religious way of life. It also knit them together in the feeling of Christianity. Now after conversion into Christianity, they have only one God unlike many other petty gods like village deities whom they used to worship.

Secondly, western education made them bold and clear in their ideas; histories of France, Germany, Europe and Russia made them revolutionary people who hitherto believed in tradition, theory of Karma etc. Moreover, they used to question such things once they are educated.

Influence of Dr. Ambedkar on Palnāḍu

In the early 'thirties', Ambedkar concluded that the only way of improving the status of the untouchables was to renounce the Hindu religion. He appealed to his caste brothers, you have nothing to lose, except your religion (Keer 1954: 273). In the early 'fifties' he found that Buddhism was appropriate as an alternative religion for the

untouchables. It was their only salvation. He preferred Buddhism primarily because it is an indigenous religion of equality, a religion which was anti-caste and anti-Brahman (Lynch 1972; Kamble 1979).

Teaching and writings of Dr. Ambedkar, the great Maharastrian social reformer, reached Andhra and he became their saviour. He was considered as the living Liberator of the downtrodden. The life, history, the struggle for education and the insults he received from the caste Hindus while in service became the Messiah of Scheduled Caste. People in Andhra Pradesh, particularly those in Palnāḍu, received the message of Dr. Ambedkar and preached to the nook and corner of every village. Every Scheduled Caste family in Palnadu treated Dr. Ambedkar as their saviour.

The influence of the life story of Dr. Ambedkar was remarkable on the lives of Scheduled Caste youth of Palnāḍu. With the background of western education, with the discipline provided by Christian church, the ideas put by Dr. Ambedkar paved the way for emancipation of Scheduled Caste people, the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar as an architect of Indian Constitution became very popular, his speeches and writings were translated into vernacular to make it known to the common man.

REFERENCES

1. Originally the word Brahman which is masculine and neuter denoted two meanings. Its neuter form denotes 'prayer' addressed to different Gods while its masculine form simply denoted the sage; the poet, the officiating priest designated as Brahman:
Dr. Y.Kumaraswamy, Religion and Society under the Chālukyas of Vēngi, c.610 to 1000 A.D., unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Nagarjuna University), 1983, p.214.
2. 'Vēdavidyālayamdu Viprulanumché', P.V.C. p.331, T.L.924.
3. Raṇakaryāmulayamdu rājulanumché. P.V.C. p.331, T.L.925.
4. "Svābahubala sāmarijyōpārjīta rājya sampanna"
5. "Kṣatriyajātiki chāchchutesummu
chétikichechina śatru chēlagichampanga
bahupātakambanipaliké vēdamulu"
--P.V.C. p.377, T.L. 2368-2371.
6. 'Kshatriya sévaché sauryambu galgu'
Or serving of Kshatriyas would give valour.
-- P.V.C. p.331, T.L. 933.
7. "Yajna Yājana adhyayan adhyāpana
dāna pratigrahaṇ"
8. "Varaviprakāntalu vaditōduvachchi
hāratuléchiri ānamda mōdava"
-- P.V.C. pp.345-46, T.L. 1390-91.
9. Brāhmanulu dīvimcha -- P.V.C. p.344, T.L. 1248
Brāhmaṇa Janulu -- P.V.C. p.337, T.L. 1096.
Brāhmanulu dīvimpa -- P.V.C. p.337, T.L. 1109.

10. Viprula sévimpa vijñānamōdavu -- P.V.C. p.331, T.L. 933.
11. Guru suśrūṣeṣā vidyā.
12. Kacha, son of Bruhaspati (the teacher of devas) came to Sukrachārya (the guru of demons) who was killed by Rākshasa (demons) when he was in the forest with the cows of his teacher.
13. Mālās of Andhra Pradesh keep all the cooked rice on a mat made of date-palm leaves and rice is taken from the heap to serve the guests who attended their social and religious functions.
14. When a dead cattle is spotted by vultures they make rounds in the sky. It is the sign of dead cattle in the jungle. Gōsangis immediately proceed to the spot to collect the meat.
15. The Mādigas are only three-anna wage-men, and do such work as turning winch, moving bales and other trivial jobs. The chindu dance or sword dance of the mādigas was prohibited in 1859 and 1874. The dance accompanied by a song containing grossly indecent reflections against the Mālās. Performed under strong drink. The song went on as follows: "I shall cut with my saw the Mālās of the four house at Nandyāl, and having caused them to be cut up, shall remove their skins, and fix them to drums".
E. Thurston: Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.IV, p.295.
16. E. Thurston: Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol.I, p.187.

17. Epigraphia Indica, Vol.III, p.119, Note 6.

18. Gigurukandé is a small instrument made of two thin and fine bamboo sticks smeared with pipal milk or gum to catch birds. A bettle is used as bait to attract birds from distance. This is used even today by tribes. Even today, the Chénchus and Yérukulas tribes of Andhra Pradesh employ this simple primitive instrument effectively to catch different birds.

19. "Chinna chinna rālle chillaradévullu
nāguléti nīllu nāparāllu
sajja ionnakūllu sarpambulu edēllu
pallanāti sīma palletūllu"

or

"Small stones small time gods
the water of Nāguléru river, slabs or slate
serpents, scorpions, millet and sorghum
rural villages of Palnāḍu".

Pōlapukūralu chālabhujimché gānuka
Pasarukannulakēkki palukuchérnnadē.

--P.V.C. p.373, T.L. 2249-2250.

20. Vallabhacharya: Kṛīdābhirāmam, p.93.

"rasikuḍu pōvaḍu palla
nādesaganga rambhaina nēkulé vaḍakun
vasudhēsudaina dunnunu
gusunṛāyudhudaina jonna kūdé kuduchun"

(or)

"The gentleman stays away from Palnāḍu
there, the celestial courtesan must spin cotton
the richest of men must plough
even the cupid must eat sorghum".

21. Made of blackgram (Split, soaked and ground) mixed with salt, chillies and assafoetida, it is dried in the Sun and eaten as pickle.
22. "Challamēlla vidanādi sandhimekōniye
caruvātakōmdaru darpamulmēra
ēchétu patain nēdimākela
vimāulu bhujiyimchi vēgamē puriki"
-- P.V.C. p.378, T.L.2379 to 2382.
23. Gene H.Roghair: Epic of Palnāḍu, p.327.
24. Plantain leaves are used as platters in Coastal Andhra where plantain trees are largely grown. The end part of the leaf is called Sutāka is only used in the auspicious ceremonies and the remainder is used in death ceremonies or Dinams. The plates used in Palnāḍu must be handstitched Vistarākulu of the adda plant for plantains are not grown in Palnāḍu. No reference to plantains are made in the P.V.C.
25. Gene H.Roghair, The Epic of Palnāḍu, p.345.
26. Madi - Women or men while attending to cooking make their clothes wet or take bath to be clean. Because of this kitchen is called Madi-illu.
27. Kalinillu trāgina kalugu magatanamu!
--- P.V.C. p.181, T.L. 364.
28. Manikyamba V.T.S. Weavers and Textiles from Telugu literature. Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, Nagarjuna University, 1990, p.86.
29. Ibid., p.88.
30. Amarkōṣa, 2, 8, 64.

31. Agarwal, M.S. "Harshacharitra" - Ēak Sāmkritika Adyana", Fig.72.

32. Motichandra, "Costumes, Textiles etc.," p.161.

33. Pattu Kanchukamu - P.V.C. pp. 46-47.

34. Amta Sirā Dévi nati mōdamunanu
Pedmdli kūturiyéya prématōdutanu
Pallavādhara yokka paḍati sampenga
Nūne tō talayamta nuvidatānokaté
Nalugu peṭṭunu nokka nārikatama
Chaluvaina pannitiche snānamapaḍu
Kāvichi taḍiyōtti gaddepainumché
Kaliki sirōjamul karamunabatti
Agarudhupamu vési yāragajési
Nunnagākurulanu nōgi chakkaduvvi
Tinngā kōppu sāmāchū chelulu:

-- P.V.C. p.66, Tex.Lines 438-448.

35. Nalugu is applied even today in Andhra Pradesh before marriage and on Sankrān̄thi festivals. Brothers-in-law, Sisters-in-law apply nalugu pindi to brothers-in-law. For brides elderly women apply. Songs are also sung on this auspicious occasion. "Nunnagā Kurulanu nōgi Chakkaduvvi" or combed softly very close to the head. It was the fashion of the day to have a light combing for a kōppu or back or side knot of the combed hair.

36. Kings and members of aristocratic status take their bath with Pannīru. Palnāṭi Veera Charitra, p.7, T.Lines 74-75 (...Pannīta Jalakammulādi).

37. Pāpata Kirivamka śāsi ravi bhūṣana yugam

-- P.V.C. p.72.

38. Jada kuppelu or worn by unmarried girls. Married women generally never wear them in public lest they should look girlish.

39. Mattélu are to be given by a maternal uncle during the marriage only after the mangalasūtra or auspicious thread is tied by the bride-groom. The maternal uncle would make it wear with his own hands. It is a prestigious custom. But it is mentioned in this context, that Sirā Dévi getting ready for her marriage, she set to have been wearing mattélu even before her marriage. It was probably a custom to wear mattélu before marriage, during the period in the region under study. Mukkéra was another nose ornament. It was a gold nose-ring adorned with either seed pearl or gems. Mukkéra with pearl or mutyāla mukkéra, mukkéra with crystal or patikapu mukkéra were in use. Nattu another nose ornament was also in use. It is a circular ornament adorned with precious stones was exclusively worn by women on left nostril.

40. The act of undertaking a vow; to perform a meritorious act, as fasting. 'Gajanimma nōmunagalugu putrundu'. -- P.V.C. p.323, T.L. 777.

41. Kātrénichīra - a type of Siva brand sarees were worn by women to regulate menstrual defects. Widows wear āvula bommalu addimchina chīralu or figures of cows printed on sarees to get punya or merit.

-- P.V.C. p.323, T.L. 673.

42. Today, the word tāmbūlamu is understood in two way, the first one is betel leaves with nut, camphor and calcium which is eaten by a house-holder after meal. Secondly, betel leaves, nut powder with plantains exchanged as an agreement in the engagement of the bride.

43. Kūrchi chūralanisti kummarāvamula
Ādeḍu gānugalavi chūralisti

--- P.V.C. p.332, T.L.L. 635-636.

44. Construction of Chalivēndrams or water sheds in the forest leading to the temple of Śrīsailam.

45. "Śāstramamduṇṇadi chāṇṇa yīvratamu
samvatsaramu nimḍa salpagāvatayū
idi vishnudevunikipaina vratamu
chennudāṭadugāṇa chintichi dinamū
śāstroktamuga nādisnanamāḍaga
valēnamchu nunnadi vratakalpamamdu"

-- P.V.C. p.323, T.L. 686-692.

46. Vākattu or to stop speech.

47. Marakattu or a sort of spell called stambanamū.

48. Vanikēdu kattu or trembling spell.

49. Potta pomgēdu kattu or swelling of belly spell.

50. Pōmgulakattu or the spell producing the symptoms of an eruption of Measles.

51. Kūtapēttēdu kattu or the spell of cry

52. Kōpimchu kattu or the spell of getting angry without any reason.

53. Emdipóyēdu kattū or the spell that causes a person to become lean and dry.
54. Égirēdu kattū or a spell that makes person jump.
55. Vīdhibārēdu kattū or a spell that makes person to run in streets.
56. Bēgādédu kattū or a spell that makes a man alarmed.
57. Kāllumu chētulu kadalani kattū or a spell that would cause stambhana or stunning of legs and hands.
58. Éksakkiya kattū and edchedu kattū or the spell that cause prank of mockery and weeping respectively.
59. Prānambu pōyēdi baluvain kattū or a spell that makes a person to kick his bucket.
60. He was great necromancer and head of the kattubōtus and a native of Gurazala with great reputation in his art known at Tsandolu and Nellore.
61. "Pedda Komḍalanaina prēlakattudumu
pāredīēraina pārak yumḍa
mamtrimpagalamamma mana bhūminéruga
manukōni mēmu sadrambhunaina
nikipa chaladu mimamtra mahīma"
 -- Palanati Vira Charitra - p.124, T.Lines 1720-1724.
62. C.Hibbert-Ware, G.Christian Missions in Telugu country, p.84, S.P.G.Church, West minister, S.W. 1912.

63. "Kūtambu nérayangā gollāramimḍlu
noḍuma pandirayunu nalinampuchaviké
pasuputākulo dallu bāgugā katti
sirotōḍa namarina sitalambaina
aimḍla kāgēn yamamḍu māḍimḍlu
velupala ramyamai visathīrnāmaina
vidhisāvadi kaligi visramambamara
chūdagaligedu natti sobhanākaramu
gā muggubettimchi karamarthitōḍa"

--Srinathudu etc., p.119, T.L.L. 934-935.

64. Oju is a teacher of Goldsmith community, they were expert artists, carvers in stone, metal. They were also exposed to the iconography or murthy sāstra. They were also experts in carpentry. They were also known by the name Rathakāras, on account of chariot making. There was a great centre of carpenters at Valiveru of Guntur district. The centre flourished during the eastern Chālukyan period. Many Oju's of the Rathakāra community have been referred to in the Valiveru Epigraphs.

It is interesting to note that the Māḍiga who were originally tanners or leather workers took to the profession of wood work or carpentry in Palanāḍu. The Charmakāras have taken the profession of Rathakāras.

65. High roof would create cool environment. Palnāḍu being a very hot zone, buildings were constructed with high roofs.

66. Ukku literally means strength. Ukku also means steel. As steel was not invented at that time the word may be interpreted as strong or strength.

67. Meaning not known from any source.

68. Éprti chūchina nébadiyāru

Laks mikarambuḡā lakṣaṇa vanta
Magu kambamulanella namara nimgilika
Meppuḡā pūyimchi yonaramga nūta
Iruvadi kambamu lesaganettimchi
Vāniki nēnayaina bārapattiyalu
Samgatiyaiyumda samdhimchi mīda
Bāḡuḡā sunnapu paniyu chēyimchi
Amódā mamramḡā aruvadinālgū
Kambamu lettichi kamamiyamaina
Barapattēlu vānipai numdachesi
Adiyōka amtarambaḡu, mīdamariyu
Mupparigonuvēdka muppadirēmdu
Kambamulettimchi kaduchitrāmāina
Yimdlu nāluguḡatt yimpāranamdu
Okkokka intipai nolinaidaidu
Pasidikundalu nimpī bhāsurabaina
nadimi yamtaramuna nalinoppu nimdla
enimidigā tīrchi yōsāgamadhyamuna
veneelabayalu kāvimchi pērpalara
chuttunu jālarla sōbaguchēyimchi
irēnaḡu niluvula nimḡulayamdu
rāmāyananēka rājītabaina
punyampu kadhalella polupuḡā vārsi
okkakka imtilō nōkkokka pattē
mamchambu parupunu mamchi talagaḡalu
odivina vedkatō nōppuḡā petti
vettayaitochēdu vidhamu kākumda
daśa dhūpa vāsanal tagubhamgipetti
atakamdiyamtarambamdula chāla

kattānu kattimchi kalāya kambamulu
tamakulache druṭti tākakayumda
kambali chiralu ganisēnakatti
garidi dagara jamukhanāmbu parichi
ramaṇiyamaunatti ratnamulpékku
chitravannelu kalga chesina pedda
gaddiya pettimchi kadiyamga nōragi
yumdemga cheruvampua tōrugulu tīrchi
vara vipra ksatriya varulunu vysya
śūdrulu kīrchumda chotlérū parachi
īmeḍadaggara niruvugā pedda
ukku kambambula nōrayamga nilipi
āchuttu tamakambu lāyattaparachi
jatanambu chéyimchi chandudéchinada"

-- P.V.C. Tex.Lines 1383-1428, P-114

69. The Institution (Game) Kodipamdēmu or cock-fight was common both in India and the island of Java. Nicolo de Conti described cock-fighting which he had witnessed in Java in his account of travels:

"The amusement must be in vogue amongst them, i.e. cock-fighting. The Javaneese cock-fighting, where several persons will produce their birds for fighting, each maintaining that he will be the conqueror. Those who are present to witness the sports make bets amongst themselves upon these combatants and the cock that remains conqueror decides the winning bet".

-- Major, Cont. p.16.

70. "Ó punya mortulāra! yó mantrulāra!
... tailāradra vastamul dhariyinchi manamu
sévimcha yātralu chennunitōda
póvale nippudu puramunu vidichi

kāvalasinayatti ghanula bandhuvula
todyakarammani taralinchavalayu
ani rāju cheppagānāṁhitriyaryulu
panivāri namdari paruvadipampa
bhērīlu dhamarukal peddabūralu
bhōruna vāyimchi pōlpuḡā vīdhi
chātimchi chéppaga sāgiravēla

-- P.V.C., P-II, T.L - 191-201

71. "Ranarāna mani bhērīramtu séyamga
dhana dhana mani rumja tarachugāmroga"
 (The sound bheri or drum heard as rana rana while the
 rumja another drum heard with a paus of 'Thrachuga
mroga'. -- P.V.C., P-12, T-L 220-221
72. Somasekhara Sharma, M. History of the Reddi Kingdoms,
 p.279.
73. Attili grant of Chālukya Bhima I. Journal of Telugu
 Akademi, Vol.XI, p.255.
74. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol.X, No.36.
75. J.T.A. XI, p.255.
76. Kaluchumbarru grant of Ammarāja II, Epigraphia Indica-
 VIII, p.186.
77. Epigraphia Indica V, p.142.
78. Addanki Inscription of Vijayāditya III, N.D.I. II
 Ongole.3; J.T.A. XIV, p.20; Bhārathi.V, p.1, pp.473-84;
 A.R.E. 838 of 1922; Epigraphia Indica XIX, pp.271-75,
 256-6.

79. Epigraphia Indica IX, p.45.
80. Mailayampundi grant of Amma II, Epigraphia Indica IX, p.55.
81. Ibid.
82. Masulipatnam Plate of Amma I, Epigraphia Indica V, p.131.
83. Ibid.
84. Ganturu grant of Ammarāja II, Indian Antiquary XIII, p.52.
85. Rājarājanarēndra Pattābhiśékha sanchika, pp.88-90.
86. Venkataramanayya, N. Eastern Chālukyas, p.63.
87. Krishna Rao, B.V. History of Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, p.210.
88. Ibid., p.294.
89. Epigraphia Indica XXXI, p.44, T.L.58.
90. J.T.A. XI, p.82.
91. Ibid.
92. Daśakumāracharitra of Dandin Tr.Kale, M.R. pp.46-48.
93. P.V.C. p.55, T.L.467; p.337, T.L. 1111-1113; p.338, T.L. 1154-1190.
94. Gumḍubōyani sutulu gurutainavāru
Rayabōyumḍunu rāyapāḍalu
Paḍavālu tammudu bālagōpanna
Vāramuggurukūḍi varusagā kāchu
Gōvulu vēyyiyu gorrelu vēyyi
Alla boyalatōḍa - naranambunaku
Nichai pampimchumi yinakulēśvaruḍa"!
--P.V.C., p.69, Text lines 536-543.
95. Amta kumartē nārāju chūchi
vinavamma nāmāṭa visadambugānu
aranambu lichchi ninnampagāvale
adagavalasina vanni yadugumi" yanina
--P.V.C., P.57, T.L 532 - 535

96. "Vinumu Sirādevi! Visadambugānu
nitam̐dri Sōmum̐du ninnampunapaḍu
aranambu lichcheḍu satyadāramuna
appuḍu nivadigi vāvulatōḍa
gollā bamtula chāla kōritevatayū"
-- P.V.C P. 56, T.L 509-513
97. Foreign notices, p.195.
98. Ibid., p.203.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Economy of Palnāḍu

The economic conditions of a given place would always depend mostly on the geographical potentialities, apart from other factors. From times immemorial Palnāḍu presented a separate environment due to its geographical peculiarity.

Rocky hills and thorn forest on two sides, and the Krishna River on the other two, form a natural boundary around Palnāḍu. They set it apart from the surrounding countryside and give it a regional identity. Within Palnāḍu, the grazing lands and poorer fields of red soil are a product of the weathered granite and gneiss of the surrounding hills. The red soil is fertile but often unproductive unless irrigated, it does not retain sufficient moisture to produce anything but the poorest crops of castor beans, peanuts, or the least desirable millets. The traditional staple crops are varieties of millet and sorghum. Hardy and nutritious but low yielding, they are scorned wherever the more favoured paddy can be cultivated. These cereals are supplemented by legumes that are inter-cropped.

On account of the above geographical setting, Palnāḍu has been reviled for its poverty, backwardness, rocky soil and weather.

At the north-west corner of Palnāḍu are two great monuments of local stone. One of creamy greenish marble, is the ancient Buddhist site called Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. It stands above a valley that was continuously occupied from the Stone Age until about a decade ago.

Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri, the present Nāgārjuna Kōṇḍa ruled for two and half centuries from first century A.D. Inscriptions of the Ikshvāku kings contain references to the various agricultural reforms made by them. As it is evident from these epigraphical sources the Ikshvāku kings tried to bring about a green revolution in the barren land of Palnāḍu.

Proprietorship of the Land

The land of a kingdom under the rule of a king always belonged to him, until it was grabbed or conquered by somebody. The Hindu Law givers like Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kauṭilya say that the king was the owner of all the land.¹ The Government land or rāchapōlamu² was directly under the control of the king. King used to distribute it

among the cultivators now and then again, if a nidhi or valuable deposit of treasure or mineral is detected in the land of a private owner, the state has every right to acquire that land, offering due compensation to the individual.

Types of Donation of Land

Donation of land was suppose to be the best of donations. It is said and believed by the people of the age. "Bhoomedāna sammamdāna na bhūthō na bhāvishyati" or there is no equal gift to that of the land either in the past or in future. Therefore, rich people who have inclination to donate used to donate lands to the desrving and needy. Land gifts or donations may be divided into the following categories.

1. **Agrahāras**:- Agrahāras are those lands in which learned Brahmins lived. It is a Brahmanical settlement which enjoyed all privileges from the government. The Agrahāra lands were not taxed. Military, untouchables were not allowed to enter the Agrahāra areas. Even, the ruling king used to get prior permission to enter an Agrahāra from the elderly pandits of an Agrahāra. Agrahāras were surrounded by fertile lands and irrigation facilities with tanks. As, Brahmins who pursued sāstric way of life

they required temples and tanks for worship and bathing. Therefore, almost all Agrahāras maintained temples of their faith and good tanks.

2. Brahmadéyas or temple lands:- Apart from Agrahāras, villages and Nagaras where non-Brahmins reside, temples were constructed either of Vishnu or Siva. For the maintenance of temples and to provide facilities to the worshippers, lands, cows, garden-lands, valuable gifts in the form of ornaments, clothes, provisions, etc., were donated to temples. Several lands which were donated to temples became the Brahmadéyas. Thus, temples have acquired vast lands and got regular revenue from such lands. Lands donated to the temple were given for cultivation. The cultivators used to give the rent to the temple. The cattle donated to the temple for supplying ghee to the lamps became the temple dairy.

3. Land donated for service:- Government officials were also given lands for their service and sacrifice. Villages granted to the warriors, Nāyakas, Ministers, Generals, Karanams and other officers are known as service-tenures. Instead of paying the officers in coin, it was the system in those days to grant them vriddhis in the form of some

villages or lands according to their service. They never possess any absolute right on those villages.³

Arid Land

Palnāḍu being a rocky land it presented arid conditions frequently the weather station in Rentachintala consistently records the highest temperature in Andhra Pradesh and perhaps, South India. The contrast in temperature in the region often led to famine. People and cattle faced scarcity of food and fodder. Even during normal conditions people of Palnāḍu never ate rice.⁴ Vallabhacharya's Kṛidābhirāmam contains a beautiful verse about this.

Scarcity of Fodder

The arid conditions prevailed in Palnāḍu led to scarcity of fodder. All grazing lands dried up due to akāla or absence of timely rain. Failure of crops could not supply the required fodder to the cattle. We have reference to the scarcity of méthalu, kasavu for cattle in Palnāti Vīra Charitra.⁵

Anugurāju sends his Commander-in-chief, Teppalinēni to Aranagandla⁶ to bring fodder to elephants, camels, horses, oxen and milch cows which have become lean on account of insufficient fodder.

Fodder for cattle used to be kept in store as Vāmulu or heaps of hay. After harvest the hay was tied into sizeable bundles known as Mōpulu. Such mōpulu were carried on head and arranged on carts and tied with 'paggamu' or a long rope, tighten the load. Such cart loads were brought to a storage place a dibba or high place and made into a Vāmu. Salt and dried jute plants or Janumu are added to the hay to make it tasty and healthy fodder. Such fodder gave more nourishment to the cattle.

"Fodder of elephants and horses exhausted bring enormous grass and store them as Vāmulu like mountains."⁷

Best variety of maize was grown in Palnāḍu. The maize was so attractive that it looked like Pearls. Palnāti Vira charitra refers to such best variety of maize.⁸

Ikshvāku king Virapurisadatta gave ploughs (Halasata-sahasa or 100,000 ploughs and gosatasahasa or 100,000 cows) to farmers. They were also given 'anēka hiraṃṇa kōṭi' or innumerable gold coins for conducting agricultural operations by bringing new fields under their ploughs. This would show that the earliest attempt to bring more and more lands under a green revolution.

During the subsequent times, we have regular temple inscriptions wherein reference to Vrihikshétra or paddy fields occur. Agrahāras given to Brahman Scholars are always backed by grant of paddy fields.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people during the period under study. Cultivated land is divided into two varieties wet and dry. Wet land is again subdivided into Neeru Néla or Paddy growing land and Thóta or Garden land. Dry lands are those where crops like sesame, millet, mustard, indigo, kóra, sajja, jónna or jawar, chólla or rāgi are grown which depend only on scanty rainfall. Waste land consisted of forests and pastures were left for grazing cattle. Lands that are brought under the plough known as Acchukattu⁹ which included both wet and dry lands.

Methods of Agriculture

Methods of Agriculture were almost the same as we see them till recent days before the introduction of mechanization. Native agricultural implements like Nāgali or plough, Górru or a drill plough are tied to bullocks for ploughing. According to the harvest, the lands are called kārthika and Vaisākha. Lands cultivated in the first season of south-west monsoon yielded the crop in Kārthika. Lands

cultivated in second season in winter yield the crop in vaiśākha or summer. Lands that are cultivated in both the seasons are called Irugāru or Iru-Upu.¹⁰ The commencement of agricultural operations started with the Éruvāka ceremony. This is the main festival for the cultivators to begin the new year. On that day, they use to perform certain worship at a common place like a chéruvukatti or Tankbund, a hill or a temple. Oxen are sprinkled with Gulām or a pink colour powder, flowers and garlands, bells with leather belts are adorned to them. All the members of the cultivator's family enjoy the Éruvāka festival with joy. Seed is sown in seed beds which would be transplanted through Udupu in wet lands. Seed is sown on the dry land after ploughing it properly. Some dry fields are shown through hallow bamboo attached to nāgali. Seeds are dropped while the Nāgali is drawn by bullocks in the farrows.

Pódu cultivation

Another type of cultivation known to agriculture from the earliest times is known as Pódu. Forest areas are cleared by cutting and burning of trees and bushes. Upon the ashes, seed is sown and water is sprinkled to raise the crop. The process of clearing the forests for cultivation is known as Pódu cultivation. By this method, new lands are converted as fields. Pódu cultivation was originally

employed by tribals who move from place to place in search of roots, fruits and animals. Shifting cultivation was followed by tribals even today in order to get more yield.

Taxation

In order to run different aspects of the government, the State used to levy several taxes from its subjects. The taxes collected by the Government can be divided into different heads. They are Land Revenue, Taxes on Property, Commercial Taxes, Property Taxes and other Miscellaneous taxes.

Tax on Land

All those lands such as temples, brahmans, nobles and Government officials were subjected to taxation. However, the rāchabhoomi, forests, waste lands, river courses, hilly tracts were not taxed.

New fields brought under the plough by clearing forests by new settlers were not taxed for a few years, to encourage the formation of new settlements. After a considerable time, when the new cultivators have settled firmly, the government used to levy taxes on the houses, on the produce of the land. The land demarcated for the purpose of taxation was known as acchu-kattu or āyakattu. This tax was

collected both in cash and kind. Separate tax collectors were appointed to collect taxes known as āyagāmdru.

Pangu was another tax collected by the government. According to Dr.D.C.Sircar, Pangu was a levy in general and there were several kinds of it.¹¹ Tax in the form of one fourth produce in olden days by the government on lands in the possession of gods and brahmans.¹² Tappu means offence. Non-payment of Pangu treated as an offence and penalty was levied on defaulters. It is evident from the term Pangu-tappu that an amount of penalty was collected on Pangu tax when it was not paid in time.

Pangu was collected both in cash and kind. We have another reference to Pangu Sunkamu, Pangu-māḍalu and Pangu-kóluchu. The words māḍalu and kóluchu¹³ denote different types of payment. Māḍa was coin while kóluchu means method of measuring. Generally kind is measured in quantity. Therefore, it is evident that Pangu-Kóluchu was collected in kind while Pangu and Puttimāḍalu in coin.

According to scriptures, the king is entitled to have a share of 1/6 of the gross produce. But, the kings in all times of history used to collect Samgōru or one fourth, and

mókkóru or third. The produce was often measured in different measures.¹⁴

Not all taxes were collected by the same officer. For each type of tax there were separate officer. Officers known as Tūmu āyagāndru were assigned to assess the kings share in the produce. Āyagāndru used to visit each land under his jurisdiction at the time of harvest to assess the probable produce of the standing crop.¹⁵ This was also known as Ennu or Vennu pannu. The length of the paddy or corn vennu is measured and some times the number of grain are also counted to estimate the produce in Puttis. Ardhāya or half of the total produce was another tax collected by the government from the cultivators.¹⁶ Ardhāya type of taxation is also known as kóru in Telugu.

Industrial Taxes

Every village consisted of the traditional craftsmen known as the Panchanamvāru or the five traditional craftsmen kammari (Blacksmith), Kamsāli (goldsmith), Vadrangi (carpenter), Kamchari (brazier), Kāse (stone cutter). Apart from these five master craftsmen, there were other craftsmen like Sālē or weaver, Mādiḡa or cobbler, Tēlika or oilmonger, Mēdara or basket maker etc. These craftsmen used to prepare the products required by the society. As producers

they were subjected to taxation by the government. Their articles when sold in the market, were also subjected to sales tax; commercial tax, and transport tax also. Gānuga or oil mill, was one such industry which has been mentioned in the inscriptions. Oil produced by Gānugas was in demand by the public and also by the temples for lighting lamps. Though there was a lot of ghee supplied by devotees for akhandā vartidēvve or non-stop lamps, still there was a lot of requirement of oil to the temples.¹⁸

Gānugas or oil mills that supplied oil to temples were generally exempted from payment of certain industrial taxes. They have to pay more than one tax on this account, i.e. for setting up the industry, for running the industry, for selling the product in the market to the local god, to the samayamu, or religious obligations, and guild of their community.¹⁹ Registration fee for the industry was known as mudrasunkamu. Subsequently, Varusa sunkamu or periodical (one year) tax was collected. The oil pressers or téliki community were granted with certain privileges.²⁰

Weaving on looms was another important industry. Weaving for domestic consumption and commercial purpose was recognised by the government. Fine fabrics made of silk and superior count were subjected to higher taxation while cloth

made of coarse cotton and low count of yarn were mostly taxed at a low rate. Tax on looms and tax on bales of cloth were separately fixed. At market places Pēmta Sunkamu²¹ or market tax was also collected.

Profession Tax

The Government used to levy tax on profession known as Vritti-pannu. A copper plate grant issued by Ganapatidēva and kōta Ganapambā in A.D. 1219 to certain Rudrapēddi throws much light on this aspect. While granting the village to the Mōgalutla in the Palanāḍusīma to the said donee; the record mentions that the dues payable by the village communities takshka (carpenter), āyaskāra (blacksmith), kumbhakāra (potter), suvarnakāra (goldsmith), rajaka (washerman), napita (barber), Chandāla (pariah) were also donated to the donee.²²

Tax on other professionals and Industries

Sometimes, the ruling king used to donate the levies due to him from industries and professionals to the god and brahmans as Vrittis.²³ Tax on military personnel was also levied.²⁴

Taxes on trading articles

Different taxes were levied on articles of merchandise

which were brought to a market place for sale. This was known as adda²⁵ or addapattu. The word adda-pattu means to take on lease the right of collecting tolls in a particular market. On almost all varieties of articles of merchandise tolls were levied.

Pémt was a type of tax collected on those articles which were not sold on account of various reasons. As they were brought to the market, they were subjected to Pémta sumka or market tax.

Auction of Market Places

Generally market places were auctioned by the Government on Market days or Santhas. Not all days, the merchants used to sell or purchase at a place. One market functioned on a particular week day. Next day merchants used to move to another place. Each place was famous for a particular commodity. The government used to appoint Sunka-mānyagādu through bid system, to collect different taxes at the adda. He was directly responsible to the government to pay the amount of money and other kind if any according to the bid, to the government sunkaris were the tax collectors and Tirpāri was an officer who estimated the value of articles brought into the market. His duty was to see that no loss is done either to the owner of the articles or to

the Government.²⁶ Kōlagādu present in the market used to measure the weight of articles. The Sunkari has to purchase every year the right of collecting Sunka.²⁷

Double Tax system

Tax was levied both on sale and purchase. We have epigraphical evidence to this extent.²⁸ The Karavādi inscription in present Prakasam district mentions double tax on the sale as well as purchase.²⁹ Most of the commercial. According to the Vēlpur epigraph of Ganapatidēva tax was levied on purchase only.³⁰

Apart from the above taxes, there are various other taxes collected on certain places and occasions. Rēvusunkamu or ferry tax was collected at places wherever ferries existed.³¹ Puttu sunkamu or a tax on naming the child.³² Pēmdliāyamu or marriage tax was also levied. In this case, the party of the bride-groom was taxed.³³ Thus, we have ample evidence about various taxes levied during the period under study in Palnādu and its configueous areas.

Trading Centres

Movement of essential goods from the place of production to the market place, from there to the consumer is an age long practice. Organised trade was conducted by

recognised trade guilds. Among such guilds the Ayyāvali guild was very famous. It conducted its trading activities with the Andhra country from its beginning. The merchant of Ayyāvali used to transport their trade goods on asses, horses, oxen and carts along certain inter-state long routes.³³ P'éruru in the Nalgonda district, V'elpur, Durgi, Mācherla, Tangeda, Koppāram, Enamādala in Guntur district, Tripurantakam, P'édaganjam in Prakasam district, P'énugonda, H'elapuri in the West Godavari, Ghantasāla, Gudivāda in Krishna district were great trading centres. Mōṭupalli, V'ēṭapālem were connected with seaborne trade. Chirāla, Nāyudupēta and Perāla were newly constructed townships named after Silamahādēvi, Brahmanāyudu, the famous persons of Palanāti Vira charitra. Chinaganjam is one of the oldest sea-ports. Even during the Sātavāhana period it enjoyed the status of sea-port Divi or Hamsaladiyi was a seaport under the Vēlanāti chiefs. The ports where customs were levied on exports and imports were known as Karapattanas. Krishnapatnam in Nellore District was a famous sea-port.³⁴

Coins

All transactions of an individual or a Government are guided and measured in terms coins. The price of an article, the tax levied or to be paid etc., are to be specified. They have to be mentioned either in cash or

through kind. Cash is measured through different kinds of coins and kind in weight and measurements.

We have no sufficient numismatic evidence in Palanāṭi Vīra Charitra about coins of the period. Therefore, we have to depend upon the earlier and contemporary inscriptional evidence.

In the former period, the western Chālukyas a coinage known as Gandha-hasti māḍas. During the Vēlanāṭi Chōḍas Birudaḡadyās. The Kakatiyas issued Késari-ḡadyā, Késari-māḍa, Késari-Visāmu, Késari-chinnamu and Késari-adduḡa etc. Tribhuvamkusa mānika of the Eastern Chālukyas was in vogue.

Measurements

Land was measured in two methods. All the wet land was measured in Khadrika unit and represented with the letter kha. Dry, garden and house sites were measured in nivarthana unit system and represented with the letter Ni in the inscriptions.

Mānika was a standard measuring unit for measuring liquids like ghee while donating lamps to a temple, the donars used to specify clearly the measure of ghee to a lamp donated. Below the Mānika, Sōla and Gidḍa measurements existed.³⁵

REFERENCES

1. Manu VII.39. There are some counter arguments on the issue of the absolute ownership of land. That the basic proprietorship rests with the king while the individual possesses only secondary ownership, seems to be the most convincing solution for this problem. It is an admitted fact that all the uncultivated wasteland and forests in the kingdom belong to the state, but none else. When a village is newly constructed in such areas by clearing the forest, as an incentive to the new settlers, it is the king who extends several privileges like remission of some taxes for some years, construction of tanks, allotment of house sites free of cost etc. Corpus of Telingana Inscriptions (Hyderabad II, p.88).
2. The lands which were not allotted as agrahāras or vrittis naturally belonged to the king and they were called rāchapólamu. Such lands were leased out to cultivators on almost permanent basis, the rent being half or one-third or one-fourth or one-sixth of the gross yield according to the nature of the land. The newly cultivated lands were called pódus. Some concessions were given to the cultivators of such lands.
3. Dévāri Nāyaka for example, who led an expedition successfully on the Pāṇdyas during the reign of Pratāparudra, while granting the village Salakalavidu included in his nāyainkara to the god Śrīranganātha of Kāvéri obtained the consent of the king.
4. Kṛidābhirāmamu, p.93.

5. "Mana matta gajamulu
Ghanamaina Omtélu Kamtla péddulunu
Kasavulékanu kónni kaduchikkipóye
Pālanichchédi Pasuvulu kónni
Chāla saukhyamu tappi sannambu tāyé"
-- (P.V.C. 21)
6. Aranagandla is a fort near the villages of Gandiganamala and Ravulapuram in Vinukonda Taluk, Guntur district, about 15 miles South-southwest of Mācherla.
7. "Gaja turangamulaku grasamindaniyé:

Mikilenivāmulu minnakatéchchi
Kuppalapéttamga kóndalarīti"
--P.V.C. 21.
8. "Manchi muttémulatlu madikimpu kūrchu
Atuvamti jonnalanennadu kanamu"
--- P.V.C. 22.
9. The term Acchukattu denotes that the land was liable for levy of tax generally called ari by the government.
10. Inscription of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, Warangal, p.26.
11. Epigraphia Indica, XXXIII, pp.54-56.
12. South Indian Inscription X, p.422.
13. Ibid., p.499.
14. Rāsitūmu - Nellore District Inscriptions I, p.340.
Santarāsi-Tūmu (Appendix-5; Epigraphia Andhrice IV,

- p.123). They are mentioned as the shore chiefs on all kinds of crops.
15. Āyagāmdru were also known as Phaladāru (IAP wg No.142) who assessed the kings produce.
 16. Epigraphia Andhrica IV, p.97.
 17. South Indian Inscriptions V, p.158.
 18. Donation of full lamps and half lamps with ghee in Siva temples was considered meritorious. Sheep and Inupaēdḷu were donated to temples for supplying ghee to the temple lamps along with land.
 19. South Indian Inscriptions X, p.422.
 20. Emperor Kulóttunga Chóla I (A.D. 1086) conferred certain honorary privileges on the descendants of Télikī families, by the king who was pleased by their great devotion and with the services rendered by them in the past, for the imperial family of the Chālukyas of Véngi. The privileges were when marriage festivals were celebrated at all places such as Vijayawāda (Bezawāda), all other towns and cities, villages and hamlets, the married couple might proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they placed a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king, prostrated themselves, betel was given to them in a golden vessel as handed over by old custom. The Télikī or the oil-monger community were subdivided into a thousand families such as Véľumanuľľu, Pattipāľu, Nāriyullu, Mumudāľľu, Marrulu, Póvāndľu, Śravakulu, Ūndrullu, Anumagóndāľu and Addānuľľu. These families of the Télikī community were among the

hereditary servants of the Eastern Chālukya family of Vēngi whom they pleased by their devotion, service strength and intelligence, and in the beginning protected them with their riches, lives and courage. They were believed to have migrated at the beginning with the king Vijayāditya from Ayódhya and have settled at Vijayawāda which was formerly the capital of the Chālukyas. The headman or the chieftain of the Télik one thousand, residing at Vijayawāda or Bezāwāda, bore like the chieftains of the Durjaya families who were feudatory vassals of the Eastern Chālukyas, the title Chālukya rājya-mūla stabhaya manulu or the main pillars of the Chālukyan kingdom (South Indian Inscriptions VI, p.668).

21. Fees levied on sales of articles or merchandise in a market place. South Indian Inscriptions VI, p.638.
22. Epigraphia Andhrica IV, p.97.
23. The Ākūnūru epigraph, dt. S'.1095.
 1. Owners of rātnas - 4 mādas; 2. Garden rātnas - 3 Sīnnās, 3. Tammidi (temple priest) - 8 gadyās, 4. Gólla caste - 2 gadyānas. 5. Potters - 1 Ga, 6. Barbar - 5 rūkas, 7. Vasādi dwellers (Jains-5 rūkas), 8. Amgadāla mandalu (cattle sheds outside the village) two herds - 2 rūkas.
24. Routu (horse-tropper) 1 1/2 rūka; Tōmigādu 1 1/2 rūka, Omtēbamt (Soldier on camel 1/4 rūka, Epigraphia Indica XXXVIII, p.76 ff.
25. The word adda is derived from the sanskrit word hatta. Amarakōsa III, p.453.

26. South Indian Inscriptions X, p.480.
27. South Indian Inscriptions X, p.422.
28. NDI.II, p.995, Dr. N.Venkataramanayya, Peruru Inscriptions, 9.
29. South Indian Inscriptions X, p.314.
30. Ibid., VI, p.652.
31. Epigraphia Andhrica IV, p.92.
32. Corpus III, p.135.
33. The road between Bidar-Patāncheruvu-Warangal is one of the very famous ancient routes. The salt producing coastal towns like Pedaganjam Karavādi, and the seaport Mōtupalli were linked with Bellāry through Tripurāntakam (Prakasam District) and Kurnool.
34. Nellore District Inscriptions I. G.29.45.
35. 4 Giddas - 1 Sōla
2 Sōlas - 1 Tavva
2 Tavvas - 1 Mānika.

Chapter-VI

CONCLUSION

The study has brought about the following facts of the region under study. Geographically, Palnāḍu has been elevated with historical, social and cultural happenings. The region of Palnāḍu came to the Haiheyas as Āraṇāmu by Gónka to his daughter, began to play a vital role in the politics of Andhra country. The division that brought about the family fued on account of a casual cock-fight bet between the house of Nalagāma backed by Nāgamma, the saivaite section and Brahmanāyudu, the Vīravaishnava section of Mācherla ultimately culminated into final debacle of both the fractions by the battle of Kārémpuḍi. The participants, the heroes who lost their lives deified and temples were constructed and annual festivals are being conducted with devotion by devotees from distant lands.

Palnāḍu was not merely a 'Geographical expression' but a synonym for 'Paurusham' or heroism. Palanātimāta a word given by a person coupled with religious sectorianism divided the un-divided Haiheya house of Palnāḍu into two war-like compartments, until they destroyed themselves in the battle of Kārémpuḍi. The religious reform brought by the Vīravaishnava Dīksha or Conversions, a casteless society

was destined to be created by Brahmanāyudu who made the Chénnakésava temple at Mācherla as the centre of his socio-religious reform.

The reform movement brought about a metamorphic change in the social order in Palnādu. Vīravaishnava social reform brought many more avenues of social upliftment to the socially backward and suppressed people like the Gósangis and Mālās, the great untouchables of Andhra Pradesh. Brahmanāyudu opened the gates of equality by initiating them into Vaishnavism. Mālās were a subjugated race, kept and made social servants and deprived of all free social movements such as entry into temples, approach to public tanks and professional degradation.

These people were completely excommunicated from general social movements. Separate residential settlements of these untouchables were known openly and naming as Pādu and Pallé as suffixes to identify their habitant openly and thereby discrimination may be made openly. But the social equality brought out by Vaishnava movement brought the Mālās into limelight. Kannama, the Pénumāla of the Mālā community was considered as the eldest son of Brahmanāyudu. For all practical purposes, Mālā Kannama was considered as the shadow of Brahmanāyudu.

The Mālās of Palnāḍu got back their original social status and became Vīravidyāvantulu. Though restored, it may be considered as an upward social movement. They got the right to sing the Heroic ballads. They alone, not any other community could sing the ballads. The position of the other great untouchables was lowered and the social distance between the two, i.e. the Mālās and the Mādigas was widened than before. Seven paggams of distance was maintained ever since. The Mādigas though belonged to the great untouchables, yet they were considered inferior to their co-untouchables. The Mālās will not accept food from the Mādigas. They also never allow the Mādigas to sit in a Palanquin and ride on a horse even during their marriage ceremony.

At the same time, Mālās got some elevated ritual and cultural status became number one among other untouchables. They got the right to keep weapons with them. Next only to the Kshatriyās or Rājus, the Mālās can keep weapons of war in their possession. They can play and exhibit their valour and craft through sword fight during the festival of Heroes of Palnāḍu at Kārémpuḍi.

Social change brought by the Vīravaishnava movement in Palnāḍu left its indelible impression on the Mālās of Andhra

SP Pradesh and its contigues areas. Mālās began to christen their male issues as Kannamadāsu, Kannamanēdu, Kannayya, Kannamarāju etc., while their daughters as Kannamāmba, Kannamma. This became very popular.

The name of Brahmanāyudu and Bālachandrudu also became a symbol of heroism and reverence to the tradition of Palnādu. Many people gave these names to their children. The influence of Palnādu heroism spread far beyond Palnādu. Mālās of Vijayanagaram and in the districts of Tēlangāna and Rāyalaseema are evident from the fact that people from these areas participate in festival of Heroes at Kārēmpudi.

Women of Palnādu were no way inferior to their men in valour and virtue. Their dedication to their men and duty were far excellence in the history of early medieval Andhra in general and Palnādu in particular. The Vratas and vows they made knitting the ritual dress they wore, the dishes and special food they offered to gods, for getting male progeny would tell us the type of life women led. As wives of heroes they performed Sati. Sati was considered as a meritorious deed during the period.

Apart from Vratas, Nōmus and other rituals, the people of the period believed in good and bad omens, soothsaying

witch craft and kattabōtu or paralysing art, poisoning of food to control and defeat and killing of enemies. Women enjoyed a very high position in courts also. Nāyakurālu Nāgamma of the Reddi community played a vital role in the politics of Palnādu. She turned the tables and stood as staunch opponent representing Saivism against Brahmanāyudu, the Vaishnava opponent.

Women as Sānis played pivotal role in the socio-cultural life of Palnādu. Though they were not married to a single man, their presence was considered very auspicious. In politics also they played very important role as seen in the person of Sabbi and her old mother and other sānis.

Apart from cock-fighting, wrestling, sword fighting, use of bow and arrow were in use. Regular competitions of sports and games in Giridi or stadium. A vast and magnificent stadium constructed at Gurazala would show that people of Palnādu irrespective of their social status participated in sports and games regularly.

There were Vididi-gruhās or guest houses in Palnādu constructed with all sorts of amenities. To suit the environment different varieties of designs were made and fences of yellow leaves, carpets of various varieties were

used. Vāstu or the art of construction of houses was employed during the period under study. Guest houses and stadiums were also constructed according to Vāstu.

The society constituted the Brahmans, Vaiśyas, Śūdrās, the untouchables and tribes. Of the tribes of Palnāḍu reference is made to Bōyās, Chénchus and Pattudlu. Chénchus by virtue of their Vaishnava affiliation, joined the side of Vaishnavites. The Śūdra caste constituted the bulk of the society, Gōlla, Kāpus, Reddis were very popular during the period.

Relations of people were however not smooth particularly with the lower strata viz., the untouchables. Mediator stones were used to convey communication with the low caste people. Cloth woven on the Mālā looms was not directly accepted by the consumers, but kept on a stone after dipping in water known as pāḍugu tadipésaribanda. However, after the Vaishnava conversions untouchables were allowed to enter the temple of Chénnakésava at Mācherla. Temples were constructed in honour of Kannamanédu of the Mālā community in the compound of the temple of heroes or vīrulaguḍi at Kārēmpuḍi. Vedikā or platform of the Viravidyāvantulu in the heart of the city of Kārēmpuḍi near

the Gangānamma temple would show that there was no hindrance of the movement of Mālās in the city.

The economic conditions of Palnāḍu were not rich. Economically, Palnāḍu faced many up's and down's due to the uncertain climatic conditions prevailing. Abundant rainfall was not available in Palnāḍu. Therefore, the land though, fertile could not produce the required grain. Scarcity of fodder for cattle was also noticed at different times. Fodder was procured from neighbouring places. Until, the coming of the irrigation facilities by the construction of Nāgārjuna Sāgar Dam across the river Krishna at Nāgārjuna Kōnda, the people of Palnāḍu never ate rice. We have references to important market places at Kārēmpuḍi, Gurazala, Mācherla, Tsandholu, Ongodu (Ongole) and Mōṭupallī. Nizāmpaṭnam, Mōṭupallī were the most important sea ports that helped for the prosperity of the sea-borne trade. Different types of land Revenue taxes on Rāchabhōōmi or the Government land were levied. The tax collectors were known as āyagāmdru penalty was also levied on Pangu as tappu. Taxes were collected both in cash and kind. Taxes were collected on Industries and traditional craftsmen Panchānamvāru and on their products. Gānugās or oil mills were taxed at different stages such as registration, supply of oil to temples and to the market. The weaving industry

was subjected to discriminative taxation. The looms of the silk weavers and Padmasālē were less taxed while, the looms of Mālās, Jāndras and Thógatas were taxed heavily.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Carnatic Mission became the chief instrument of French evangelical work. The work of the Catholic missionaries yielded fruitful results. Later on, the Foreign Missionary society of Paris took up this work. These Missionaries converted a good number of Hindus in their settlements into Christianity. They started the Christian way of worship and to that effect, Churches were constructed in different parts of Palnādu.

In Eighteenth century, French Jesuit Missionaries came to the Telugu land. They even prepared a Telugu-French dictionary. Several Brahmins and Kammas accepted Christianity at Dharmavaram (Bellary District), Mōdigubba (Ananthapur District), Bukkāpuram (Nellore District) and Rāvipadu (Guntur District).

Missionaries played an important role in the field of education. They have started vernacular schools, technical schools and Boarding houses for the poor and Dalits. The educational facilities provided by the Missionaries helped

for the emancipation of the Dalits. It also helped them to develop socially, economically and culturally. The degree of untouchability through social discrimination and economic and political exploitation was so high as long as the Scheduled Castes followed Hinduism. Therefore, in Southern India, many people belonging to Scheduled Caste communities converted themselves into Christianity.

Teachings and writings of Dr.Ambedkar reached Andhra. Thereby he became the saviour of the Dalits. He was considered as living Liberator of the downtrodden. His life, struggle for education and the insults he received from the caste Hindus, while on service became the message for Scheduled Caste. The writings of Ambedkar were translated into Telugu and circulated among the Scheduled Caste people. This literature brought an awakening and courage in the hearts of the dalits. In every village, there is a statue of Dr.Ambedkar. People belonging to other communities also pay their homage on death and birth Anniversary of Dr.Ambedkar. Thus, Dalits played a prominent role in the social, religious, cultural, economical and political spheres of Palnādu.

TECHNICAL GLOSSARY

Āchāramu	: The cult of the Heroes
Āchāryāvantulu	: The title given to the head of the Temple of the Heroes in Tullure, also any followers of the cult of the Heroes
Daivālu	: The weapons of the Heroes which are worshipped as deities
Gōlla	: The herding caste of the Telugu country
Gōtra	: A clan
Jāngam	: Minstrel-priests of the Vira Saivate Sect, a worshipper of Basava
Kali	: A fermented rice water used for cooking rice and also for certain medicinal uses
Kali	: The present age, the last of the classical ages
Kammari	: The blacksmith caste
Kamsāli	: The Goldsmith caste
Kāpu	: A cultivator caste
Kaṭṭi Séva	: Sword play as form of worship
Kaṭṭubōthulu	: A wizard or necromancer
Kshatriya	: The warrior caste in classical Hinduism
Mādiga	: One of the great Telugu untouchable castes. They are at present, the only caste excluded from the cult of the Heroes.
Mālā	: A Telugu untouchable caste. They are the most characteristic devotees of the Heroes of Palnāḍu.
Mānyam	: A land given to an individual in recognition of his ritual services. It is held tax free.

Nāmam	: The upright mark of Vishnu that is worn on the forehead by Vaishnavites.
Pithādīpati	: A common title for the head of a religious institution. Here it refers to the Head of the cult of the Heroes.
Póthurāju	: A village guardian deity of the Telugu country
Rācagāvu	: The sacrifice of a ram to a village deity at Kārémpudi
Rāchapólamu	: The lands which were not allotted as agrahāras or Vrittis which belonged to the king.
Reddi	: Caste of farmers of agrarian lords. They are the dominant caste in Palnādu at the present time.
Sati	: A woman who burns herself on her husbands funeral pyre.
Śūdra	: The fourth Hindu caste according to the Brahmanical system
Talamu	: Finger cymbals
Tāmbūlam	: Betel nut mixed with spices and wrapped in a leaf for chewing, to take an oath: (because such a ceremony is gone through when an oath or solemn engagement is taken)
Téлага	: An Agricultural warrior caste, the caste to which Galéyya belongs
Tirumani	: The white substance which forms part of the upright red and white mark of Vishnu. See nāmam.
Titti	: A goat skin bag pipe drone
Vaisya	: The third or merchant caste in classical Hinduism
Vantolu	: Accompanists for the <u>Vīravidyāvantulu</u>

- Varahā : A gold coin
- Vēlama : A warrior - Cultivator caste. The caste to which Brahmanāyudu belongs
- Vīravidyāvantulu : See Palnāṭi Vīravidyāvantulu
- Visvabrāhman : The Goldsmith caste
- Yādava : See Gōlla. Also the caste to which Krishna belongs.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE TELUGU ALPHABET

అ	ఆ	ఇ	ఈ	ఉ	ఊ	
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	
ఎ	ఏ	ఐ	ఒ	ఓ	ఔ	ఠ (nṇm)
e	ē	ai	o	ō	au	
క	ఖ	గ	ఘ	ఙ		
ḱ	kh	g	gh	ṅ		
చ	ఛ	జ	ఝ	ఞ		
c	ch	j	jh	ñ		
ట	ఠ	డ	ఢ	ణ		
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ		
త	థ	ద	ధ	న		
t	th	d	dh	n		
ప	ఫ	బ	భ	మ		
p	ph	b	bh	m		
య	ర	ల	ళ	వ	శ	
y	r	l	ḷ	v	ś	
	ష	స	హ	క్ష		
	ṣ	s	h	kṣ		

Note, Transliteration is according to the accepted Sanskrit system with a few exceptions. The length of the mid-vowels e ē o ō is marked where as sanskrit has only ē ō. Anusvāra is transliterated by 'm'

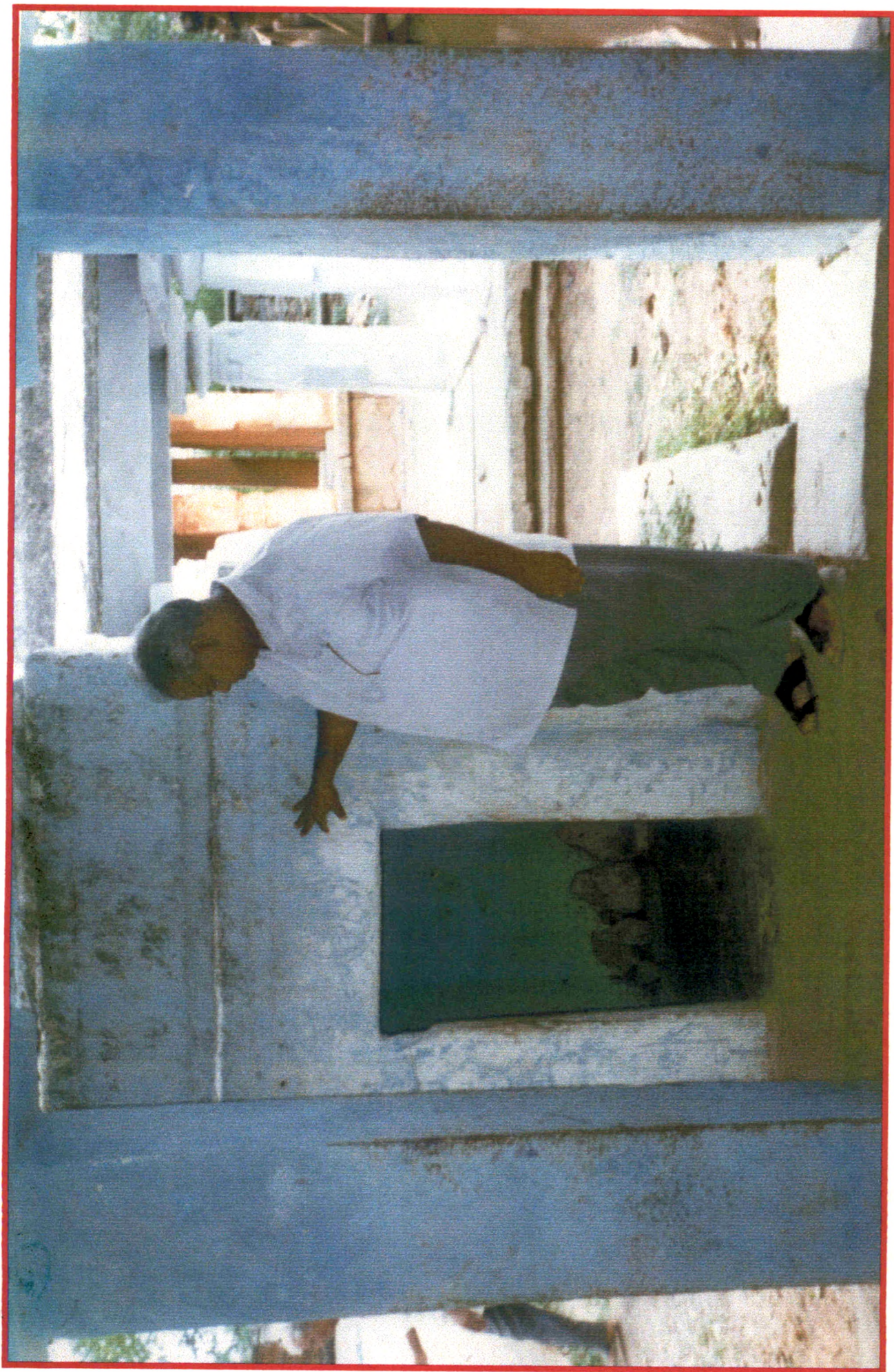
V O W E L S

	Front		Central		Back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
High	i	ī			u	ū
Mid	e	ē			o	ō
Low			a	ā		
Diphthong		ai				
		au				

C O N S O N A N T S

	Velar		Palatal		retroflex		aleolar	dental		labial	
	k	kh	c	ch	ṭ	ṭh		t	th	p	ph
Stops	g	gh	j	jh	ḍ	ḍh		d	dh	b	bh
nasals	n		n		ṇ		n			m	
fricatives	h		ś		ṣ		s				
liquids					l		l r			v	
semi-vowels			y								

Note, Transliteration to Telugu text of the 'Palanati viracharitra' and its English translation have been done by the author.



1. Temple of Kannamanedu



2. Sword of Kannamadasu



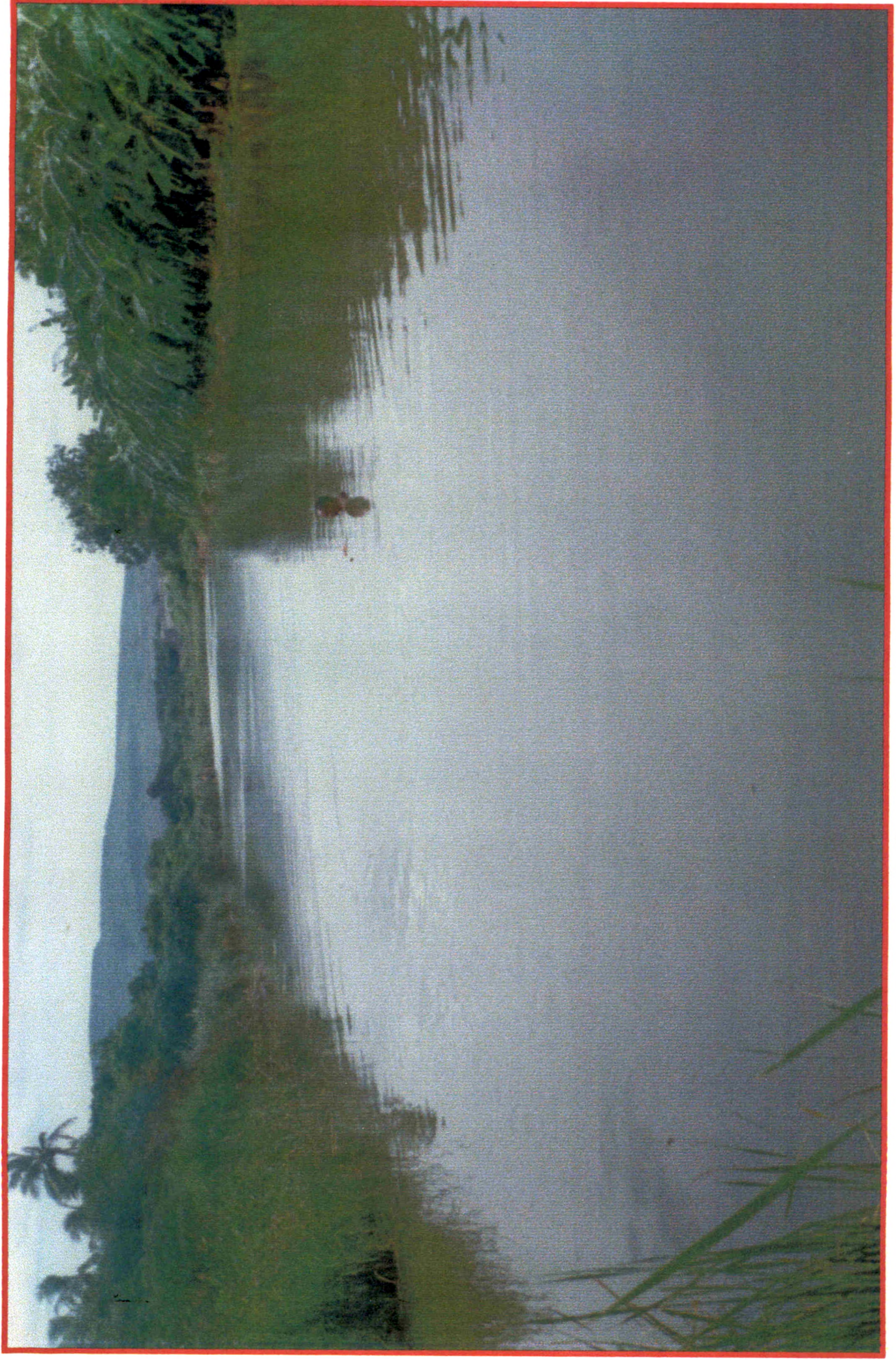
3. Public Platform of Vivavidyavanthulu



4. Daivalu
(The weapons used by the Heroes of Palnadu)



5. Ankamma Temple
(A diety looks at a procession of Heroes leaving the festival Heroes at Karempudi



6. A view of Naguleru

(Flowing near the temple of Heroes at Karempudi Where the smered swords were washed after the battle of Karempudi by the Heroes. Even to-day the Practice is current on the eve of the festival of Heroes)



7. Punishment Stone



8. The Cow Trampling Stone
(Lying on the Northern side of the temple of Heroes at Karempudi. A dedicated Hero would be lying on this stone motionless throughout the night and all the cows trampled over him. He would be found unhurt)



9. Penumala Banda

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS PALNAD TALUK CENTUR DISTRICT, A. P.

100000 DISTRICT

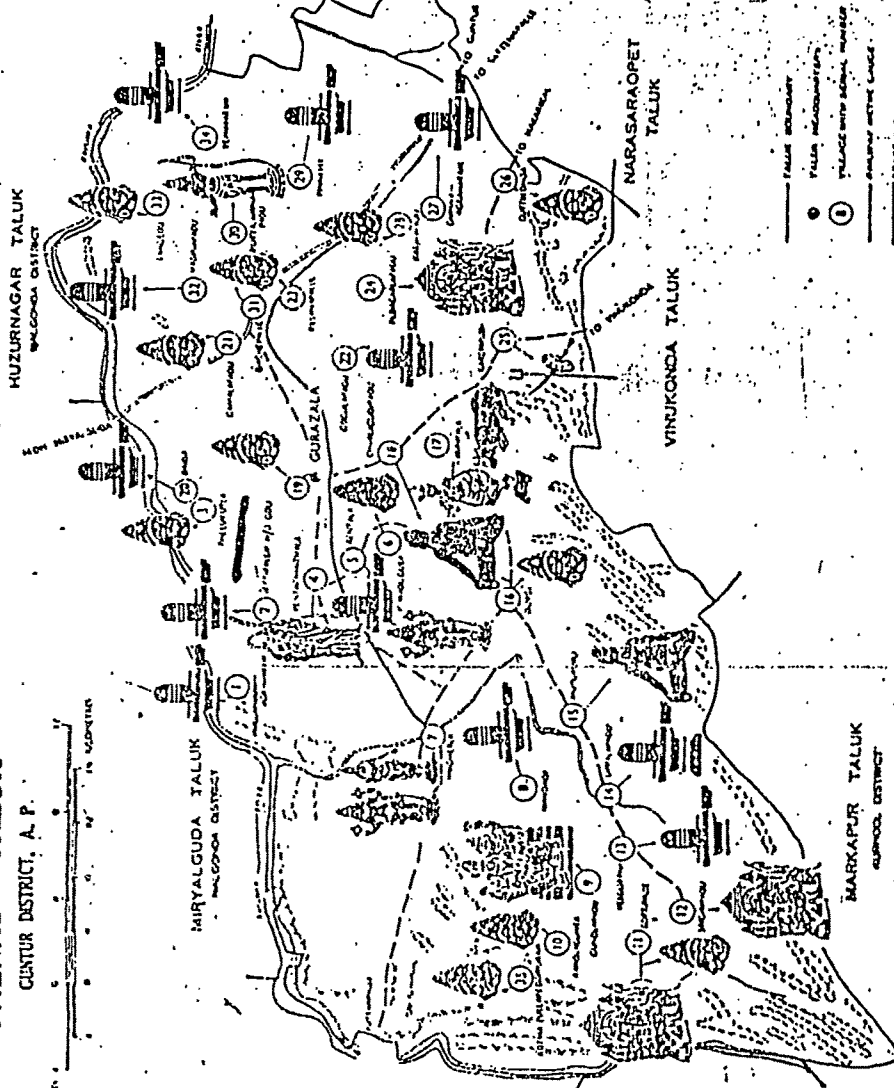
100000 DISTRICT

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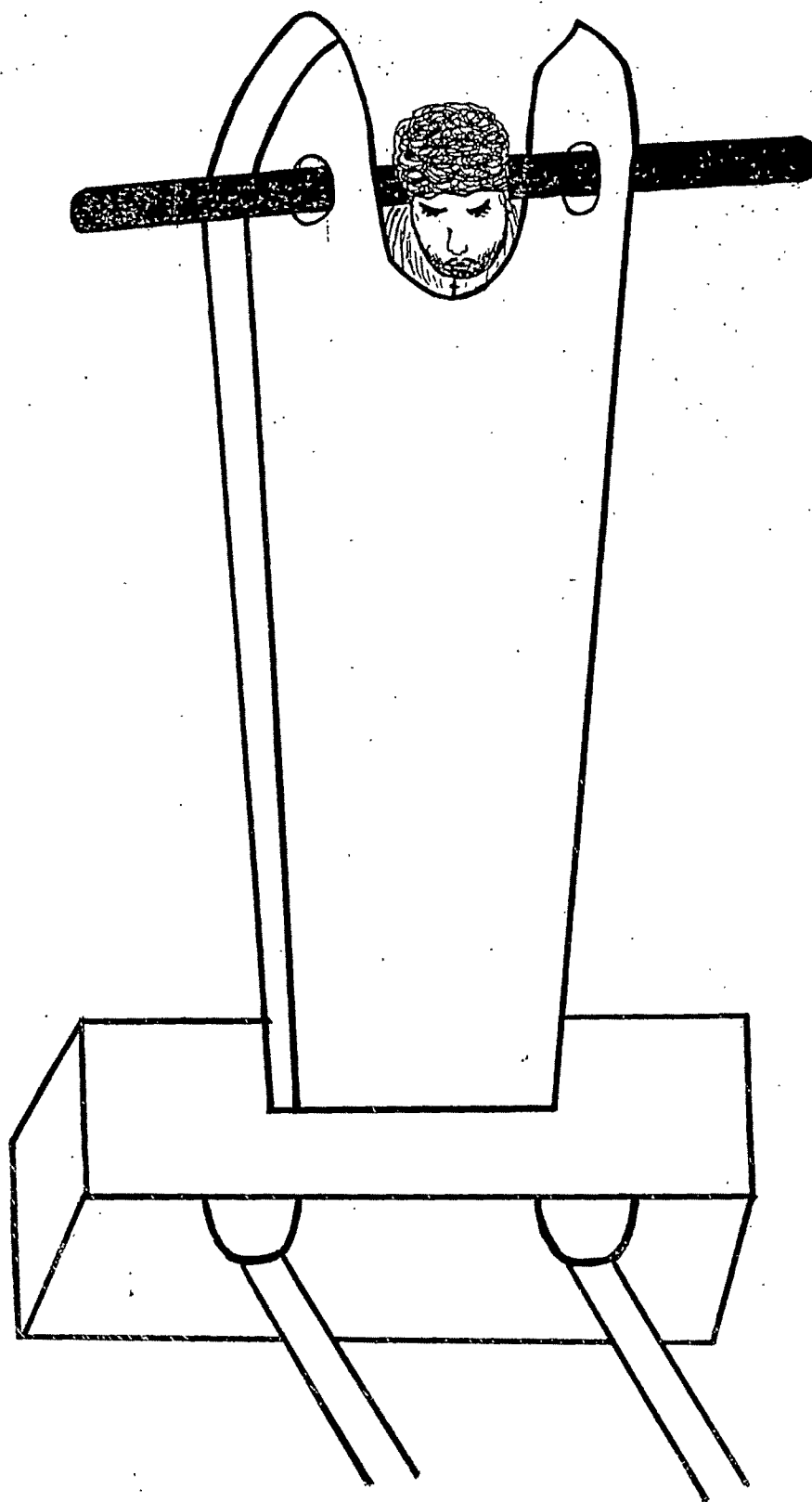


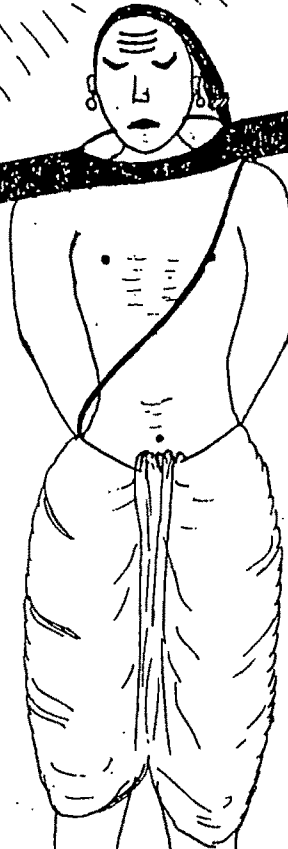
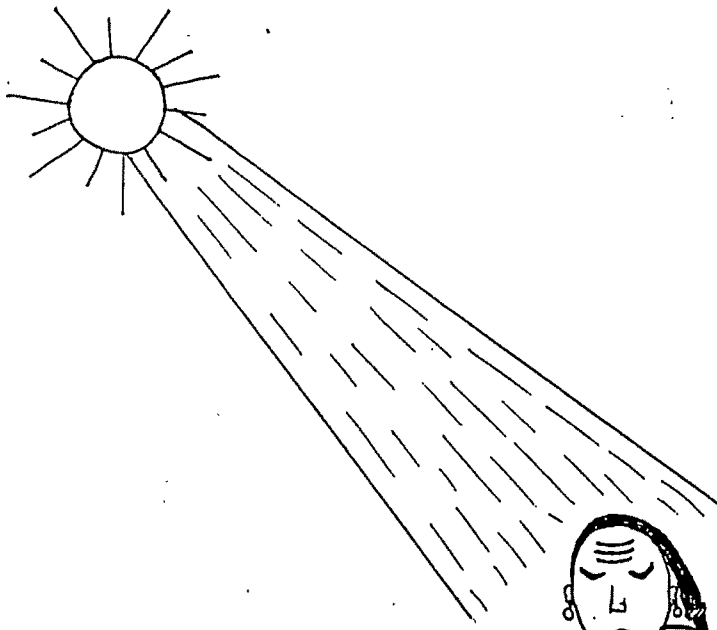
1. Macherla
2. Gurazala
3. Karampudi
4. Piduguralla
5. Rentachintala
6. Dacheppalli
7. Durgi
8. Nagarjunakonda
9. Machavaram
10. Mandadi
11. Gundipadu
12. Kandilagunta
13. Gottipalle
14. Srigiripadu
15. GamaLapadu
16. Gogulapadu
17. Charlagudipadu

INDEX

Sl. No.	Code Name and name of village	Name of Estate and name of taluk
1	1. Macherla	1. Macherla
2	2. Gurazala	2. Gurazala
3	3. Karampudi	3. Karampudi
4	4. Piduguralla	4. Piduguralla
5	5. Rentachintala	5. Rentachintala
6	6. Dacheppalli	6. Dacheppalli
7	7. Durgi	7. Durgi
8	8. Nagarjunakonda	8. Nagarjunakonda
9	9. Machavaram	9. Machavaram
10	10. Mandadi	10. Mandadi
11	11. Gundipadu	11. Gundipadu
12	12. Kandilagunta	12. Kandilagunta
13	13. Gottipalle	13. Gottipalle
14	14. Srigiripadu	14. Srigiripadu
15	15. GamaLapadu	15. GamaLapadu
16	16. Gogulapadu	16. Gogulapadu
17	17. Charlagudipadu	17. Charlagudipadu

Approved by the Government of Madras





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